WORLD REVIEW

Volume IV. No. 1. *Incorporating* *'REVIEW OF REVIEWS' and 'WORLD'* *September*, 1937

40 CHANDOS STREET
LONDON W.C.2.

Telegrams: BOOKSTORE, LONDON
Telephone: TEMPLE BAR 0127—9

Editorial Board:

J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT
VERNON BARTLETT
SIR ROGER CHANCE
JOHN McDOUGALL

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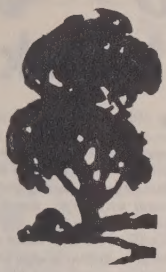

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THE NATIONS TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

REASONS FOR OPTIMISM

by VERNON BARTLETT

A FEW days ago an Austrian journalist came to see me. Why, she wanted to know, had I sounded so optimistic in the last issue of this Review? I was, at first, a little startled, for that accusation seldom comes my way. Then I tried to set out my reasons, and here they are.

First, the presence of a new Prime Minister in Downing Street. Ever since I heard Herr Hitler's speech on January 30 when, for the first time, he had nothing to offer his listeners, I have believed that the absence of a definite British foreign policy was the greatest possible danger to peace. It was almost an invitation to the Führer to offer his people something at some other country's expense. But nothing was going to drive Lord Baldwin into making up his mind. No Prime Minister for years has uttered such stirring defences of British democracy and yet done so little to defend it.

One may distrust Mr. Neville Chamberlain's ideas—his friendly letter to Signor Mussolini especially may seem so much like a condonation of the Duce's behaviour in Abyssinia and Spain that it will not turn his footsteps back into the strait and narrow path. But the essential is that Great Britain should again have a policy, and Mr.

Chamberlain has already made it impossible for the rulers of Germany or Italy to reckon without Great Britain should either of them be tempted to try yet more dangerous foreign adventures than those they have already undertaken.

The British armaments programme has caused far more headaches in Rome and Berlin than is generally realised in London, for it has destroyed the conviction formerly held in those two capitals that the British Empire was really as decadent as their propaganda ministries asserted and that in no circumstances would it raise objections to its own dismemberment. The truth behind the Chamberlain letter, in fact, is that the Italians are frightened out of their lives and need all the reassurances they can get that the British are not suddenly going to attack them. The Foreign Office may conclude that this is a suitable moment to strike a bargain to put an end to Italy's anti-British propaganda in the Near and Middle East, but that, in a way, is the secondary reason for the Prime Minister's missive to Mussolini. The primary reason is that the British Government considers it rather dangerous when a man in so responsible a position as the Duce has the jitters.

Guns and Discontent

The second reason for optimism is that, while the British are growing stronger, the Germans and Italians are growing weaker. Paradoxically, the more they spend on armaments the weaker they grow, for every mark or lira diverted for the unproductive purpose of preparing for war increases public discontent, whereas the British Government is in the singular position of having almost unanimous support for its own programme of rearmament. So far, at any rate. And even from the military point of view neither Italy nor Germany is in an enviable position. Italy for the moment most alarms our Foreign Office, for she has been allowed to gain important advantages in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea during the last two years of dithering panic. But Signor Mussolini is far too intelligent to believe that, if he were to begin a war, he could gain more than a few preliminary victories before meeting with his own final defeat. With a quarter of a million men in Abyssinia and nearly a hundred thousand in Spain, his position is terribly vulnerable, and he knows it.

What if the economic situation in Germany should grow worse?

Is not Hitler more of a mystic than Mussolini, and might he not go to war and damn the consequences? Six months ago he might have done so. Today the Reichswehr would not allow him to do so. He is no longer above criticism. He has served his purpose in bringing the people back under the control of the military machine, but the machine is not going to move until its officers are ready. In particular, they condemn his folly in attacking at one and the same time the Jews, the Catholics and the Protestants.

A great German general let himself go the other day on the subject of the war against the churches. "But I did not know you were such a religious man," interjected a foreigner who was present. "I'm not," said the general. "I look at it from the technical point of view, and I know that no army which goes into battle without some hope of an after-life will fight well. Hitler's advisers are allowing him to ruin our raw material."

Nor is the criticism confined to the army. At no time since the National Socialists came into power have they been so openly and widely condemned for the extravagance of their ideas and their finances There is not, of course, the faintest shadow of a counter-revolution, but for the first time people are talking about the system in a way which expresses doubts whether it will last the thousand years which, as far as I remember, General Goering claimed for it during the Reichstag trial. Germany has not yet the material resources and has no longer the moral resources which would enable her to carry on a long war. And if Hitler does not know that, the industrialists and the officers do. Third reason for optimism.

What Fear Led To

But why all this talk about a possible war? Why this suggestion of hostility to Italy and Germany? Because British foreign policy is based entirely on the belief that those countries are likely to fight us, and it is, therefore, essential to rub in the fact that it is almost impossible for them to do so. That fear of Italy and Germany led to Sir Samuel Hoare's betrayal of the League and international law during the Abyssinian dispute. That fear led to Mr. Anthony Eden's share in betraying the legal government of Spain (a government represented at the League Council table) by instituting a system of non-intervention which has involved us in the most undignified wrangling and make-believe ever known at an international conference.

That fear has caused various futile and unworthy attempts to win over Germany against Italy or Italy against Germany. We are gradually coming to realise that we need not base our policy on panic, and therein lies the fourth and greatest reason for optimism.

There is, then, relatively little danger of war in the near future. Or so I maintained, and my Austrian agreed with me. But what, she wanted to know, about the more remote future? Had the British Government a policy about Austria? About Czechoslovakia? About Danzig? Was it going to keep the present regime going in Germany by lending it money? Was it going to continue sabotaging the League of Nations because Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare between them had so weakened it that Germany, Italy and Japan could afford to act as though it did not exist? Was there any far-reaching political programme behind the British rearmament programme? Was there any real hope that Whitehall, which had refused help towards a Danubian pact in the spring by allowing regional modifications of the most-favoured-nation clause, would make an economic agreement with the United States which would lead the way towards a general reduction of trade barriers? Were we going to do anything serious about the better distribution of raw materials?

To all those questions I could only give evasive answers. The dangers of war have certainly diminished, but the prospects of peace have not yet improved. And it's no longer good enough to declare that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. It is that doctrine which has got mankind into such a mess.

But holidays are still on, and such problems can be left over for a week or two. On no point have the members of the Non-Intervention Committee reached such rapid agreement as on the question whether they should adjourn for a decent interval early in August, and it gave one a strange encouragement to realise that these men whose deeds or misdeeds cause us so many anxious hours because they may interfere with our holidays are just as anxious lest we should interfere with theirs. They talk pompously about " my government " but they are not above a little gentle ragging. When everybody was pouring compliments on the British plan preparatory to killing it, one minister begged that the windows should be opened as the scent of so many lilies was overpowering. When it became known that the unhappy idea of sending out a questionnaire on this plan had come to

Lord Plymouth in his bath another minister was heard to whisper the prayer that in future his lordship would go dirty. If they are not very careful these diplomats will get on as well together as do members of different parties in the House of Commons.

And since people engaged on such very urgent work can agree to take a holiday, we can leave over such complicated questions about the remote future until it is no longer quite so remote. We can do so with the comforting knowledge that, for the time being, at any rate, nobody dares make war.

THE DOWSER

Mr. Eden seeks the Source of Peace.

"Kladderadatsch" Berlin.

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

All the world likes to read gossip about other people. Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. These personal notes aim at giving flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles

Arabia's Age of Gold

A DISTINGUISHED line of English explorers have won their spurs in Arabia and St. John Philby, who contributes to WORLD REVIEW this month, ranks among the greatest. He returned this summer to London after a journey from end to end of Arabia, part of which took him through unexplored country.

His connection with Arabia began during the War when, as an experienced Indian Civil Servant, he was attached to the Civil Commissioner's Staff at Baghdad. It was found necessary to send someone to Riad, capital of the central plateau known as Nejd, to persuade the reigning Emir, Ibn Sau'd, to attack a group of tribes under Turkish control. St. John Philby and Lord Belhaven were chosen for the mission.

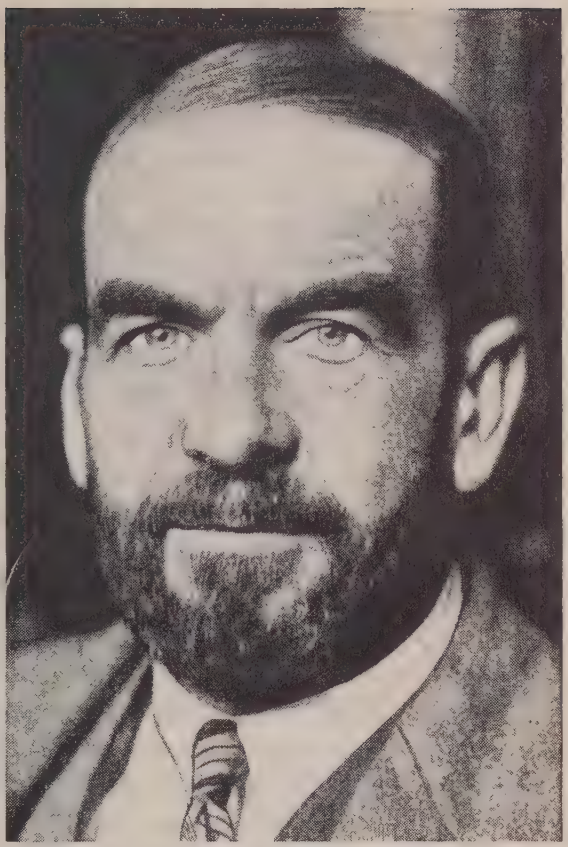
They were not entirely successful. The wise Emir did not wish at that moment to involve his country in a war ; instead he promised friendly neutrality in return for £5,000 in gold a month—only a quarter of what Hussein of the Hedjaz was getting for his more active support.

Sheikh Abdullah Philby

Philby came expecting to meet an Arab tribal leader and found a hero. Ibn Sau'd's character cast a spell over him from the first and they became close friends. At times there were awkward moments when Philby tried to interpret British policy in the Near East ; it was hard to explain that there were three separate departments, the Foreign Office, the India Office and the Arab Bureau at Cairo who each had a finger in the pie and often pursued conflicting aims.

But the personal tie triumphed over political differences and later Philby resigned from the I.C.S. in order to remain with the Arabs.

Liked and respected throughout Arabia, he is the King's friend but occupies no official position. He is Resident Director of a small private company which holds a motor car monopoly. Recently he embraced Islam, and his desire is to die in Mecca. In Arabia he is known as Sheikh Abdullah Philby.



Mr. H. St. John Philby.

Style in the Desert

As with Doughty and Lawrence, so with Philby the desert has proved a fine nurse of prose style. His travels in the interior have provided him with material for many books, notably "The Empty Quarter," chronicling his journey through the great trackless waste in southern Arabia known as the Rub'al Khali.

In person Philby shares to the full the grave courtesy of his Arab friends. People who have met him lately say that he appears in many ways to think like an Arab, with the same incurious reserve that hides a wealth of reflection.

Leader of the Puritans

It is rare these days for anyone to acquire an entirely new kingdom. Abdul Aziz Ibn Sau'd, hereditary Imam of the Wahhabis, the puritan

Muslim sect inhabiting Nejd, won his only after twenty-five years of intensive fighting. When, as a young man and a refugee in Kuwait, he made his first attempt to recapture his father's capital, he failed but success attended a bold venture the following year. His tenacity overcame all obstacles, including the British support for his enemy Hussein, and in the end his patrimony was increased fivefold.

At least a foot taller than the average Arab, Ibn Sau'd is broad in proportion. His handsome face, large nose and square mouth bespeak shrewdness tempered with joviality. His moustache and beard are neatly trimmed. A long illness has left him nearly blind in one eye, but otherwise there is nothing to show for his numerous wounds and hardships. In demeanour he is always calm but on the alert.

The Arab Argus

Ibn Sau'd was brought up a strict Muslim and rules his country according to the teaching of the Koran. He never drinks or smokes and performs his devotions the regulation five times a day. Music is also forbidden by his sect, and although he once bought a gramophone, he broke it soon afterwards rather than outrage his conscience.

He has few diversions beyond the pleasures of the harem, picnics and hunting expeditions by motor-car after bustard and gazelle with his intimates, and after-dinner discussions, which are often prolonged into the early hours.

Open Hand and Mailed Fist

At his capital, Riad, some 600 miles inland from Mecca, Ibn Sau'd lives with a certain magnificence. He has enlarged his palace so that the audience chamber can hold 3,000. His bodyguard, clad in gold embroidered scarlet cloaks and armed with revolvers and swords, consist partly of Nejdis and partly of huge negro slaves. Every day a thousand people are fed free with rice and mutton from his kitchens.

But his rule is strict. Murderers are beheaded, adulterers stoned and thieves have their right hands cut off. These are drastic laws but they have succeeded in making the roads safe for the thousands of pilgrims who come to worship at Mecca every year.

A pilgrim once picked up a bag in the street and reported to the police that it contained lentils which did not belong to him.

" How did you know it contained lentils ? " asked the policeman. " You must have looked inside, hoping for something precious." That pilgrim, too, lost his hand.

Wives by Instalment

Ibn Sau'd has never understood the Western attitude towards marriage. " Why," he has often asked Philby, " do you treat adultery so lightly in Europe and set your face against polygamy ? " Although never exceeding the limit of four at a time set by the Koran, Ibn Sau'd has by dint of constant divorces had over a hundred wives. But they all remain proud of having once been honoured by him, and he was plunged in grief when his favourite, Jauhara, together with his eldest son, Turki, died of flu' at the end of the War.

Above all, Ibn Sau'd knows how to handle his fellow Arabs. A successful revolt is out of the question now that he has installed wireless stations and telephones and bought aeroplanes and armoured cars. He has also done much to stabilise the nomad Bedouins by founding colonies for them in oases. Once they have given up their tents for more permanent huts, these Bedouins, known as Ikwhan or the " Brethren," become his most enthusiastic and fanatical supporters.

A Sword Drawn for Islam

If in adversity Ibn Sau'd has always shown outstanding courage, his moderation in success is almost more to his credit. Time and again his followers have advised him to push a victory home when he knew that further action would only bring him into conflict with the vastly superior forces of the Turks or the British.

Unlike Hussein of the Hedjaz, whom he drove into exile, power has never given him a swelled head. His personal ambitions have always been subordinate to his desire for the purification of Islam and the Muslim Holy Land.

PARDONABLE

A large gentleman was one of a party of tourists visiting Palestine. At a hotel he was puzzled to find in his laundry account a charge made for " one tent." On inquiry he discovered that what the Arab laundry believed to be a tent was one of his shirts.—*Edinburgh Dispatch.*

DETENTE CORDIALE

At the time of going to press, the "Times" Berlin correspondent is under sentence of expulsion by the German Foreign Office and similar action is threatened against other journalists.

When the last of the alien pressmen
Is bounced by the Nazis irate,
And we see through the eyes of the yes-men
The totalitarian state,
Their skilled rearrangement of data
Should be without scruple believed,
And the purge of *persona non grata*
With worldwide rejoicing received.

When Rome hurls news-hounds in the alley,
When Tokyo kicks out the Press,
The spirits of Europe will rally
And the danger of warfare grow less.
Truth may be, when published, an error,
Some doings are best in the dark,
To describe a regime as a terror
May lead to unwelcome remark.

Events by non-fascists distorted
The prospects of good-will reduce,
Being apt to call forth when reported,
A torrent of filthy abuse ;
Despite journalistic discretion
Which palliates, smooths and restrains,
We get a peculiar impression
That something is wrong with the drains.

Since the closer acquaintance of nations
Has never amounted to much
The secret of cordial relations
Is simply to keep out of touch.
By stopping all mutual endeavour,
By severing national ties,
By keeping at arm's length for ever
The new day of friendship will rise.

REYNARD.

THE OPEN FORUM

THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON
Parliament on Palestine

by H. ST. J. PHILBY

In this section we publish without necessarily sharing the views they express, articles by men of international fame. Mr. St. John Philby, explorer of its deserts and close friend of its King and people, is one of the greatest living authorities on Arabia. His analysis and criticism of other critics of the British plan for dividing Palestine between Jew and Arab, therefore, carries exceptional weight

A MONTH has passed since the publication of the Royal Commission's report. In every corner of the world it has aroused the deepest interest. Every element or interest affected by its proposals has had ample time to record its reactions. Partition has inevitably been the principal object of praise or blame or critical examination. No one—not even the Royal Commission—likes Partition. But no one has yet been able to challenge the Commission's considered conclusion that Partition is the only solution. Certainly no one has produced an alternative that can bear examination. Partition is, indeed, the only solution—but not the final one. The final solution can only be achieved by agreement between the Arabs and the Jews. And that is not likely until Partition is a realised fact. Partition is an essential stage in the evolution of the Palestine problem. Beyond that stage neither the Commission nor the British Government was competent to go.

Meanwhile, progress can be reported. The position at the moment is somewhat paradoxical. The Jews themselves, divided between

dislike of Partition and a desire for a room of their own, however small, appear to be ready to discuss the proposals on their merits. Their friends and supporters are fighting tooth and nail against the policy recommended by His Majesty's Government. Almost without exception, the non-Arab friends of the Arabs support the Commission's proposals and recognise in them a brilliant victory for the Arab cause. The Arabs themselves, almost to a man, reject the report with contempt and anger. The British Parliament has declined to endorse the scheme envisaged by the Government but has acquiesced in its submission to a higher authority. The Mandates Commission of the League is (at the moment of writing) confronted by an unenviable task but will have no difficulty in shifting the responsibility for a decision on to the Council. By the middle of September somebody will have to decide something and, in view of the apparent unwillingness of anybody to decide anything, it may be assumed that the British Government, which has had the good sense and courage to arrive at and publish its decision on the Commission's proposals, will secure the necessary sanction to proceed on the course it has charted.

The Lords Did Not Shine

It will then have to face Parliament again with a definite scheme for giving effect to the Commission's proposals which it has already approved. It is pertinent, therefore, to consider the recent parliamentary debates with a view to answering in advance the arguments that will be repeated in due course. Of the debate in the House of Lords the less said the better. At no time during the proceedings were there as many as fifty peers on the benches—the more soporific speeches reduced the attendance to thirty or less. Most of the speeches were soporific, inaudible, unconvincing. Lord Peel, himself, was obviously tired. However much he may have wished to do so, he could say nothing that was not already in print in a report which has already taken its place among the greatest state documents of all time. The Government champion was obviously speaking to a brief that he did not fully understand. The Archbishop discussed Jerusalem as if his knowledge of it derived entirely from the order of the Coronation Service which he had only recently conducted so beautifully. "Jerusalem is built as a city that is at unity in itself. O pray for the peace of Jerusalem ; they shall prosper that love

thee. Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces."

Of all the peers only Lord Samuel, a newcomer from another sphere, vindicated the right of their Lordships' House to consider one of the most momentous problems of our time. He at least spoke with deep knowledge, with witty malice, to the point. He exposed the flaws that can be removed from the final scheme—His Majesty's Government should certainly take his criticism of detail to heart. But he could suggest no alternative to the Commission's recommendations but the one that the Commission had explicitly and impressively condemned. His conclusion was an anti-climax but his critical contribution to the debate was worthy of an elder statesman.

In the Commons, by contrast, the proceedings were worthy of the occasion. From beginning to end the debate was vigorous and exciting, and in the end the British Government had to be content with something less than a mandate to proceed with its scheme. It was invited to put its proposals into better shape for final discussion, and it was authorised to consult Geneva in its stride. The House of Commons reserved to itself the right to discuss the problem again. The official opposition laboured laboriously in a labyrinth of procedure and socialist ethics—hopelessly irrelevant to the issues under discussion—without greatly impressing the House. It was Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, old experienced hands at the parliamentary game, that found the satisfying formula for delay and procrastination on an issue arising directly from the part they played in Palestine in years gone by.

The McMahon Promises

The honours of the debate were not theirs, however. Nor can they be awarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who certainly spoke with vigour but without conviction to a brief that was new to him, forced on him by circumstances. For more years than he, perhaps, cares to remember he has had a share of responsibility for the policy in Palestine now condemned by the Commission. It is to his credit that he now accepts and champions the Commission's verdict. It is a pity that he vitiates his acceptance of that verdict by persistence in an interpretation of the McMahon promises which the Commission implicitly challenges. " It was in the highest degree

unfortunate," says the report, "that, in the exigencies of war, the British Government was unable to make their intention clear to the Sharif." That is a very pregnant sentence, every word of which deserves more careful study than it is likely to receive. And the issue becomes still more intriguing when we realise that Mr. Ormsby Gore, when he spoke to the House, and the Royal Commission, when it penned that sentence, did not know the exact terms of the promise made by Sir Henry McMahon to Sharif Husain. If the British Government had intended to exclude, say, Jerusalem from the orbit of the Sharif's ambitions, it could have said so. We have by no means heard the end of this matter. Sir Arnold Wilson demands a full historical survey of the question. The Arabs have nothing to fear from such an investigation. In fact they have published all the documents in their possession. Let the British Government meet them with equal frankness.

The burden of many of the speeches in the House of Commons was that we have not carried out in full the promises to the Jews contained in the Balfour Declaration which, we are now told, was actually drafted by Lord Milner. Why was this document kept secret from February to November, 1917? But even February, 1917, is admittedly later than October, 1915. And, if the promises to Arabs and Jews conflict, can there be any question that the later engagements are *ipso facto* annulled by the earlier commitment? If there is any honest doubt on the subject let the Permanent Court of International Justice be apprised of all the necessary documents and other evidence, and invited to express an advisory opinion. If the British Government is not prepared to accept this challenge, let it maintain a discreet silence. Its acceptance of the Royal Commission's recommendations is sufficient amends for its long and obstinate refusal to listen to the Arab plea.

Rebellion Pays

Several speakers in the House seemed to take exception to the making of concessions to the Arab rebellion of last year. Let them consider for a moment. For fifteen years or more the Arabs have been clamouring for justice. At intervals hope deferred has provoked them to violent excesses. Two British Commissions, appointed to consider their ebullitions, have made cautious suggestions for con-

THREE SHAPERS OF FRANCE'S FOREIGN POLICY

M. Camille Chautemps, Prime Minister, M. Léon Blum, ex-Prime Minister, and now Minister without Portfolio, and M. Yvon Delbos, Foreign Minister

Meanwhile the war in Spain continued and in all the aberrations of the Quai d'Orsay's policy of non-intervention, it must be realised that the primary object of the Ministry was never to move a step ahead of England.

What is the real reason for all this ?

It is this : in spite of the agitation of the Left, and their strident demand for " guns and munitions for Spain," even for intervention, it is a fact that there is absolutely no one in France except for the Communist masses who is ready today to go through with all the imaginable consequences of an active foreign policy! All Mussolini's diplomatic skill, and all Hitler's, too, has consisted in persuading Europe that their two countries ask nothing better than immediate war (entirely untrue, at any rate in Hitler's case), because they knew very well that in France, at any rate, there was no one except the Communists and their chiefs ready to plunge into a war, and that all other classes of Frenchmen and all the statesmen, even those of the most advanced opinions, shrank from such a possibility.

Danger to the French Empire

And the reason for their shrinking is that Frenchmen, still at the moment in the " frivolous " stage, want two contradictory things simultaneously. They want to preserve the integrity of their Colonial Empire. But at the same time they refuse to agree to the slightest sacrifice for their ideal.

When M. Dupont or M. Durand calls out in a loud voice at a meeting : " The French Government knows very well that the country does not want to go to war. It should act accordingly! "—and when you reply : " Yes, certainly, but then, are you ready to give up Tunisia to Italy, Spanish Morocco to Germany and Indo-China to Japan ? "—M. Durand or M. Dupont at once becomes very serious and replies with some indignation : " Ah no, never that! " But, we repeat, the Frenchman is for the moment still in a frivolous mood and so long as the masses, and even some of the leaders, have not truly realised that Indo-China, Morocco, Tunisia, and perhaps even more, are demanded by our ancient enemies as pledges of our inaction, the position of the French Government, as far as its foreign policy is concerned, will remain extremely difficult. And a proof of this is the fact that, today, when the torpedo attacks in the Mediterranean have shown that even in times of peace France cannot count on her communications with Algeria and North Africa, the mass of the people, the business men, the bankers, and, of course, the aristocrats still refuse to grasp the situation.

But it would be idle to give way to despair, for the following reasons :

the Balfour Declaration in 1917? They cannot plead that the ways of European diplomacy were strange to them. They should have insisted on the position being made clear then—to the Arabs. Yet they concurred in keeping their pact secret until the moment was propitious for revealing it—until the eve of the capture of Jerusalem, with the co-operation of the Arabs.

The Power of King Ibn Sau'd

Mr. de Rothschild drew rather a gloomy picture of the prospects of peace and security after Partition. In effect he asked how the little Jewish State was to defend its long frontiers. It is, indeed, strange that such a question could be asked in the House of Commons without provoking ridicule. But, if there is any difficulty on the part of Great Britain and the League in guaranteeing the Jewish frontiers, there is one Power that would and could do so. Is it not yet time to recognise the achievement of Ibn Sau'd in a vast territory that never knew peace till his day? Is it not time to realise that the peace of Arabia could be extended to the uttermost limits of the Arab world? On every side the British Government has hitherto sought to restrict the area of his jurisdiction. That area alone in the Arab world enjoys effective peace. The new policy in Palestine should be the handmaiden of a new policy in Arabia.

Space precludes a full examination of the other speech above referred to. Mr. Amery, when in office, was known far and wide as a doughty champion of the policy envisaged by the Balfour Declaration. With regret he accepts the Commission's conclusions. A firmer hand, he suggests, might have produced a different result. And he put his finger right on the weak spot: "We have lost the situation in Palestine . . . . through a lack of whole-hearted faith in ourselves and through our constitutional inability . . . . not to see the other fellow's point of view." After all, a love of justice is a characteristic weakness of Britons. During the past two decades neither our Government nor our officials have ever been wholeheartedly convinced that the course we were pursuing in Palestine was just. Only a few individuals have consistently challenged that course and have fallen out by the way. The rest of the nation has marched on uncomplainingly with the Government—to the defeat now seen to be have been inevitable from the beginning. We were not all wise before the event, we shall lose nothing by being wise after it.

WAR IN THE ETHER
Broadcasting and Propaganda

by A. A. GULLILAND

Mr. Gulliland has probably wider knowledge about the inside of the broadcasting organisations of Europe than any other journalist. His articles are well known in the technical press of many countries

SOME fifteen years ago, when broadcasting first excited general interest in Europe, people who took the new technique seriously claimed it as a new means of consolidating peace by making the peoples of Europe acquainted with each other.

True, broadcasting knows no bounds. But this very boundlessness can be, and is used for the dissemination of programmes which are unpleasant, and in some cases even offensive, to the governments of neighbouring countries.

Only recently M. Léon Degrelle, leader of the Belgian Rexist Party, was refused permission by the Belgian Government to address Belgians from a Belgian station. He obtained the use of an Italian studio, and spoke *via* Italian transmitters, which are well received in Belgium. Still more recently a Spanish station calling itself Radio-Verda and purporting to broadcast from Salamanca, has been relayed every evening by a number of Italian stations whose names are not mentioned but whose exact wavelengths are quoted.

But these are only recent cases of the energetic use of broadcasting stations for influencing foreign public opinion. And Italy is by no means the only practitioner. Probably the first and therefore, perhaps, the " classical " example of propaganda broadcasts to foreign countries, were the Moscow programmes. Governments have protested against these. The answer has, I am told, been an invisible surprised raising of eye-brows. Information has been preferred that these broadcasts were intended for the groups of, for instance, German-speaking minorities in the Volga district, or for English-speaking specialists employed in Russian factories.

It would take too much space to cite all the instances of broadcasts which were not only intended for, but also openly addressed

to, foreign listeners. Some of these have been material in causing political disturbances, others, such as the publicity broadcasts for English listeners from certain continental stations, are of a more harmless nature, although annoying to the concessionaire for British broadcasting.

Roughly speaking, there are three types of propaganda broadcasts: political, either addressed openly or indirectly to certain factions or parties of another State ; tourist, inviting others to come and see the country ; and commercial publicity.

The Art of Making Believers

Tourist talks and language courses for foreigners as well as so called " news " bulletins in foreign languages can be used to build up goodwill among foreign listeners. This is an important factor. For no propaganda broadcast, however skilful, is of any use without a large number of listeners who *believe* in what they hear. If you sandwich an occasional skilfully disguised propaganda item into your tourist or foreign language broadcasts, or if you select the news in the foreign language bulletin according to a desired propaganda effect, without actually altering the facts just by adequate suppression and proper wording, you will eventually build up a group of listeners who believe in you and are already trained to your view-point. Then, at some crisis, you can risk putting over statements entirely in your favour, and the listener will believe you rather than the statements of the opposite side.

Of course it is not always necessary to add propaganda during the process of building up goodwill, but, as careful listeners will corroborate, this is generally done.

It is naturally a great help if a country has a foreign organisation of its nationals or of its Party living abroad. Listening groups can be formed ; programmes are prepared especially for them, and friends can be invited. By this means small centres of propaganda are formed. Here broadcasting is the all-important direct link with the home centre and word-of-mouth propaganda can help the occasional listeners to foreign language broadcasts to listen more often.

Popular aids to increase foreign listeners' goodwill are pamphlets on the country, personal answers to letters, competitions and, of course, if requested, the despatch of political literature.

With sufficient goodwill accumulated and with a reputation for integrity in its news, a station can, with skill and wariness, get over an immense amount of propaganda for its ideas, and in the case of a political Party with international aspirations, it can greatly help the work of local organisations. Actual open attacks on foreign governments are seldom indulged in as they lead to direct diplomatic protests which can become unpleasant if they are too numerous. They also can lead to reprisals like the " ether war " between Lithuania and Germany over the Memel question some time ago, when a station which the Germans claimed to be the Memel harbour transmitter, jammed Heilsberg's news broadcasts with morse, and when a transportable outfit, claimed by the Lithuanians to be manned by German officials, retaliated on Kaunas.

The League's Attempts

But even the less obvious propaganda broadcasts have caused uneasiness among governments. Following an unsuccessful attempt by the *Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion* at Geneva to bind its members to a gentleman's agreement (this broke down at the time of the " Austrian " broadcasts from Munich at the time of the Dollfuss affair) the League of Nations issued an invitation to a conference for the " Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace." This convention was signed by some twenty States and will enter into force once a minimum of six ratifications or adhesions have been received. This " International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace," to give it its full title, is considered a minimum prescription to prevent future interference by broadcasting in the internal affairs of other countries and " . . . to prohibit and . . . stop without delay . . . transmissions . . . to the detriment of good international understanding . . . or to incite . . . to acts incompatible with the internal order . . . of territory of a high Contracting Party."

Article 2 binds the contracting States to prevent transmissions which might lead to incitement to war or other acts which might lead to war. Another article provides against incorrect news items and for the supply of correct information and, as sole positive contribution, the States undertake to place at the disposal of others all material which will promote a better knowledge of the civilisation and condition of life in their countries, etc.

This convention, which has not been signed by Italy, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Finland, Sweden or Latvia—to name the more important European non-signatories—was only signed by Soviet Russia with two reservations, *i.e.* self-help in the case of broadcasts against her and limitation of news information, etc., to those countries with which she has diplomatic relations. Belgium and Spain also signed with reservations regarding self-help against foreign broadcasts. The convention itself provides, first, the usual diplomatic channels for settlements of disputes, and then the usual machinery for settling international disputes which may have been arranged between Parties. They may also by common consent appeal to a special committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, or as a last resort, to The Hague Court.

But apart from these international attempts at limiting the international use of broadcasting to friendly programmes, certain countries have from time to time signed agreements between themselves. A radio "peace treaty" was signed between Germany and Poland shortly before the Nazi revolution. And a few years later, in 1934, if I remember aright, the New Germany again signed an arrangement with Poland for mutual understanding.

Provided even that these various arrangements, and the goodwill accumulated between broadcasting officials at U.I.R. meetings, and during the lavish entertainments at these meetings are of use in ordinary times, they will fail entirely in a serious crisis.

Measures for War-time

The question arises : What of broadcasting in war-time ? Shall we shoot less accurately because we have heard that the man on the other side is also a musician ? Shall we be more humane because of the appeals of the bereaved mothers and children ? Hardly. War is cruel and heartless and will remain so. There never is a half-hearted war ; either it is a fight or there is peace. I am told that certain people believe that they may be able to avert war by last minute appeals to future combatants. But they forget one thing : we fight wars for causes, or at least we believe so, and make the others believe the same. But the other man does the same—so how reconcile two entirely opposed "causes" ?

Already a number of countries have taken measures to prevent

circles of people listening to foreign propaganda broadcasts. Even democratic Czechoslovakia has its measures. In war-time or with war impending War Ministries will immediately issue instructions to prevent listeners from hearing too much of the other man's views. After all, self-protection first, and who in charge of a nation during an international crisis pointing to immediate war would leave the door open to enemy propaganda ?

How to Keep the Peace

The exact technical means of closing the doors can be safely left to the experts who, I am sure, already have their plans all ready. Whether a barrage of " jamming " will start, or whether sets will be sealed or confiscated, will no doubt depend on the size of the territory to be covered. As the danger of the enemy's destroying the broadcasting stations is very great, some countries have already developed systems of nation-wide wired broadcasting systems. These are partly in use in some places, while in others they are kept in reserve. By means of these systems it will still be possible, even after complete destruction of transmitters, for political leaders to address the people who, if they have no telephone, will be assembled in community reception rooms.

At the last government conference on radio communications at Madrid, the principle was set down that in Europe wavelength allocations could only be made for purely national requirements. We, even here, have the classical example of Luxemburg which did not sign the Madrid convention, and started a station on an overcrowded waveband—and got away with it. But on the whole wavelength discipline is quite good in Europe. The short-wave position cries for some world arrangement and it is to be hoped that at Cairo in 1938 the governments will find some solution. It would, at one stroke, be possible to make foreign propaganda broadcasts impossible by giving stations in various countries the same wavelengths and arranging for the interference zones to coincide with the frontiers, but even if this were easily achieved, which it would not be, would governments really consent to cut their own chances for reaching the foreign listener direct ?

The British Broadcasting Corporation has until now withheld from any foreign propaganda broadcasts. Even on the short-waves

it limits its news-bulletins to the English language, although nearly every other short-wave station in Europe uses at least three languages. English is spoken by a vast number of people. But for proper effect on a foreign listener he must be met in his own language, although one does not need to go to the length of inviting visiting foreigners to praise London and slang their own capital in their own language for the benefit of foreign listeners. This is crude propaganda, unfortunately practised by some.

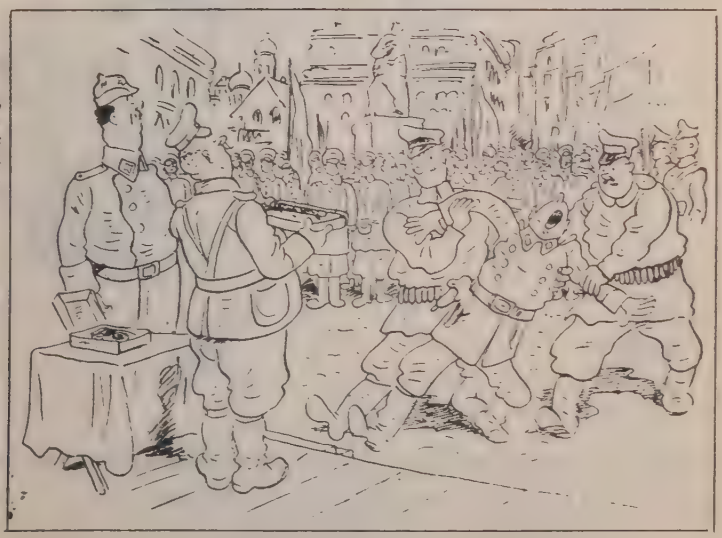
No other country can disregard the local listener as the Italians do, by just taking large slices of programme time on the medium waves for foreign broadcasts. Italy has only a comparatively small number of listeners and the climate is not radio-friendly, but on the short-waves, intended primarily to reach out into the world, provision should be made for some service at least to inform those who speak other languages.

GOOD NEWS FOR COMEDIANS

The Reich Theatre Chamber today prohibited the use of articles of food as missiles in variety shows and circuses to prevent waste in accordance with the Four-Year Plan.—*Daily Mail, London.*

RUSSIAN EXECUTIONS

Colonel : "No, no, I beg of you. Don't promote me to the rank of General ! I am so young and life is so sweet !"

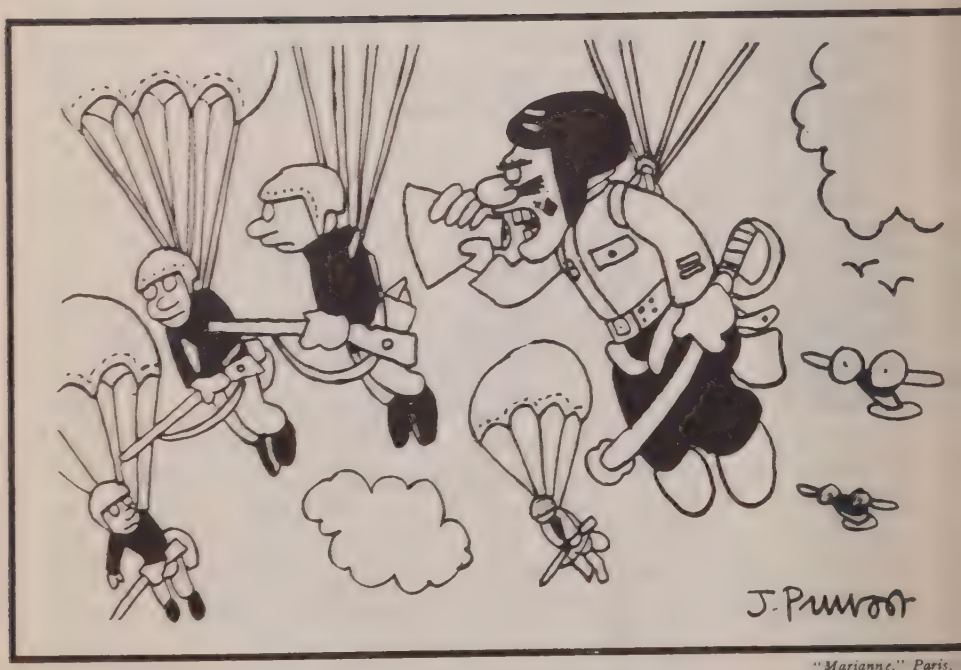


"Il Popolo d'Italia"

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH—

"Dublin Opinion."

"Dammit! Like this . . . . . See?"



"Marianne," Paris.

MANŒUVRES UP-TO-DATE
"Fall in on the cloud!"

ITALY—WEAK OR STRONG?

MEDITERRANEAN CHECKMATE

From the "Dépêche de Toulouse"

The last few weeks have shown signs of a rapprochement *between the British Government and Signor Mussolini. Whatever that may lead to, this well-informed French newspaper finds reasons for stating that Britain is taking precautions for the future. The measures here described will, it is said, safeguard Empire routes, and leave Italy bottled up within the Mediterranean*

ENGLAND first appeared as a naval power in the Mediterranean in the days of William of Orange. For two hundred years she has energetically maintained her position there, more obstinately than ever in modern times, since the construction of the Suez Canal made it the shortest route to India. Throughout this long period the Mediterranean has been patrolled, both in time of peace and war, for military, political and economic reasons, by an important section of the British Fleet, either operating from temporarily occupied territory or using permanent British possessions as their base.

There have, however, been two sensational interruptions : Britain has twice evacuated the Mediterranean ; once, owing to the American War of Independence, and again in 1796, when Bonaparte's victories had caused the defection of the Italian States from the Alliance, and the Treaty of Basle had produced a reversal of Spanish foreign policy. It is worth noting that on both these occasions Spain had become an enemy and that her hostility seriously affected the British position in the Mediterranean.

Britain Clears Out

A third evacuation—or what virtually amounted to one—took place before our own eyes in 1935 and 1936, in consequence of Anglo-Italian tension over Ethiopia. For months—in the course of which we feared the worst—we saw the whole central area of the Mediterranean abandoned by the British Fleet. It left Malta—whose decline Disraeli predicted—and took refuge, as if stricken with paralysis, at the two extremities, part of it in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar and part in Egypt and Palestine—the only sectors where it could command a safe base. The threat of Italian aircraft extended from the Balearics to Crete and the British Fleet gave way before that threat in the same way as the Battle Fleet in the North Sea in 1914 and the French Fleet in the Mediterranean gave way before the submarine. The use of sea forces has been profoundly modified by aircraft, the powerful new weapon of ground forces. That this situation is only temporary and will be changed as soon as ships have adequate protection against air attack is, of course, true, but at the moment it forms the crux of the strategic problem.

Britain first tried to overcome her geographical handicap by a comprehensive counter-attack. With the Covenant of the League of Nations in their hands, her Minister in 1935 obtained guarantees for the provision of naval bases from a certain number of Mediterranean Powers, among whom was France. These engagements were nullified in July, 1936, when sanctions against Italy were dropped. But Britain soon conceived another and more permanent solution of the problem in case of future wars. This solution may also be called geographical, but its scope is infinitely greater than the former one. Britain has determined in the words of Sir Samuel Hoare, a former First Lord of the Admiralty, " More and more to become an oceanic power " and she has been working out plans conceived in terms of

oceans rather than seas, for enclosing the Italian disposition of forces in the Mediterranean within the frame of a much wider disposition of her own forces.

She will evacuate the central area of the Mediterranean and will be content with a firm hold upon its two outlets. One part of her naval forces will be concentrated at Gibraltar (the Spanish uncertainty again !), the other will have bases in Palestine, in Cyprus, ultimately in an allied Egypt and even at points on the Turkish and Greek coast, if this can be managed diplomatically. Away down in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Fleet will be relatively safe from Italian aircraft and will, in fact, be in a position to profit by the existence of the air-arm. For it will have the advantage of the numerous landing-grounds of Palestine and Transjordania, which are too widely scattered to be anything but poor subjects for attack, but which nevertheless promise means for strong offensive concentrations of aircraft.

Support from the Far East

And so the British programme methodically unfolds : the development of Aden ; the occupation of Cheik-Said ; the creation of naval bases at Haifa and Akaba ; the enlargement of the harbour of Famagusta in Cyprus ; the construction of a hydroplane base on Lake Akrotiri and an aerodrome in the plain of Mesoaria and the expansion of the Air Force in Palestine. With regard to communications and supplies the whole of this vast Palestine-Egyptian area will be independent of the Mediterranean because it will draw its support from the East, from the Indian Ocean : India, the Far East, and Australia will, between them, provide all its necessities. In particular, it will have at its disposal and be able to cut off from the enemy the Anglo-Persian oil wells of Iraq, those of Burmah, Borneo, the newly discovered ones in the Bahrein Islands, in the Persian Gulf, and at Hurgada on the Egyptian shore of the Red Sea.

But what about the famous direct route to India ? Ships will go round by the Cape again, following the old East India Company route : Vasco da Gama will have his revenge on de Lesseps. The British calculate that their Mediterranean trade with goods from the far side of Suez, together make up only 20 per cent. of the total national imports ; 11.4 per cent. for the former, 8.7 per cent. for the latter. Their Mediterranean imports are mainly Egyptian cotton,

and minerals and chemical products from Spain. These it will be possible in time of war to get elsewhere, so that, in fact, only 9 per cent. of their traffic will have to be deflected by the Cape, with a possible extra 20 per cent. of tonnage. They believe that after a slight preliminary dislocation, lasting from four to six weeks, the new plan should work smoothly. Its only drawback is that it will add 10 per cent. to the length of the route to India and 8 per cent. to Australia ; but they maintain that the scheme is workable and that regularity of service is more important than speed.

There remains the organisation of the new route. This is the explanation of the talk we have been hearing of expanding the base at Simonstown (it will probably be transferred to the Cape) and the creation of an aviation base at Salvanha and the fortifying of a position at Sierra Leone.

A splendid programme with a wide scope. It has, however, one weak point : lack of ground defences for this Near Eastern block. They will want troops and plenty of troops. The home country is not making the necessary effort to provide them, India's response is reluctant, Australia can hardly be said to count in this respect and the Egyptian army is still inadequate. Until this side of it is better planned the whole scheme must lack solidarity.

A VULNERABLE LAND
Expert on Italy in the Mouse-Trap

From the " Nationalzeitung," Basle, 2.8.37

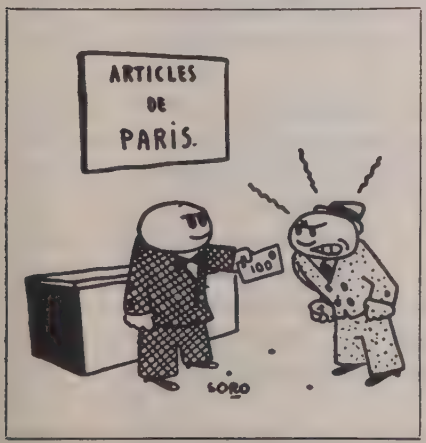
THE newspaper readers of Europe may well have come to the conclusion that Italy could do with England what she pleased, thanks to her military might. The sudden *rapprochement* between the two countries may appear all the more surprising. Its political results cannot yet be estimated, but it gives the impression that Italy would, after all, prefer to avoid that war, which certain highly-placed Fascist personages have been writing about as a desirable opportunity for a " scrap " with England.

Very opportune is a significant leading article, which appeared in the *France Militaire* of July 29, over the initials S. H. P., and dealt with the vulnerability of Italy.

In the first place, the writer deals with Italy's geographical position, and rightly characterises the Alpine frontier as being no particular safeguard. Whereas the Alps fall away towards Switzerland and France in several chains, which would allow of defence by sections, they rise steeply to the frontier on the Italian side and make a strategic scheme of divided defence impossible. It would be very difficult for Italian troops to defend the country between the Alpine frontier and the valley of the Po, once the frontier was lost.

The review points out further, that an Italian defeat in defending the Alps would have political repercussions among the minorities of South Tirol and Istria, whose obedience to Italy would depend on the latter's military successes; so that "the fate of Northern Italy might depend upon the first clashes." We do not go as far as the French author on this point, particularly as regards South Tirol. This land has not been treated as a lost child at all by either Austria or Germany during recent years, but has almost been sacrificed as a pawn in all kinds of political combinations.

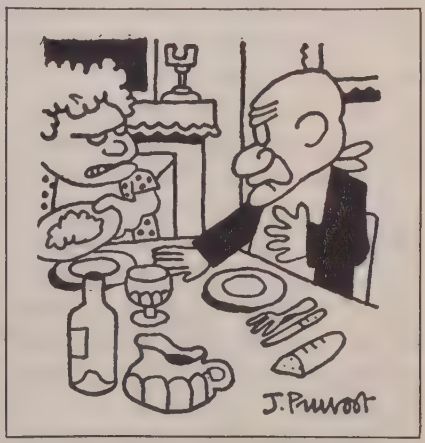
The great vulnerability of the Italian coast is then dealt with in the article. Italy's coastline, 4,250 miles long, is impossible to protect as a whole, even though the poverty and formation of the coastal districts would not favour a landing. On the other hand,



"Ric et Rac," Paris.

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN FRANCE

"What! You won't accept this forged note! It's clear you're still far too well off!"



"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris.

AN ITALIAN WAY

"You're not feeling well?"
"No. The macaroni is causing obstruction in my committee of non-indigestion."

great centres of population—Naples, Genoa, Palermo, Venice and Trieste—lie right on the coast ; Rome itself is only 12½ miles distant from the sea, and therefore within range of fire from battleships.

Weak Spots

Even more vulnerable is Italy's economic position. Her industrial centres are badly distributed. Almost all are situated in Northern Italy, and are, therefore, exposed to invasion from the Alps. Milan alone pays a quarter of the kingdom's total taxes. The valley of the Po supplies alone 48 per cent. of Italian wheat, 99 per cent. of the rice, and 75 per cent. of the maize harvest. Three-quarters of all Italy's factories are situated in the Po valley. It seems from these statements in the *France Militaire* that Mussolini's plans for decentralising industry have not yet been carried into effect.

The position as regards electric power is particularly unfavourable from a military point of view. Of the 4¼ million kilowatts produced, no less than 3 million come from the provinces of Piedmont, Lombardy and Venice, where the power stations are all in the mountains, close to the frontier. They are, says *France Militaire*, exposed to a lucky *coup* on the part of the enemy, and their destruction would to a certain extent paralyse the railway system, which is largely electrified. The factories in the Apennines can only be run on electricity during the winter and have to use coal in the summer owing to lack of water power. But Italy herself has no coal, and is extremely vulnerable to blockade as regards fuel.

In view of the poverty of its resources, Italy would be gravely hit by a blockade, for even the Mediterranean is not an open sea. Its entrances are not in Italian possession. Gibraltar is in British control, and so is the Suez Canal, which separates Italy from her African Empire of Abyssinia. The Dardanelles through which Roumanian wheat and oil comes are remilitarised and under Turkish control. " The Latin Sea," says the *France Militaire* " has become a mouse-trap, in which the Fascist Power may well fear being strangled one day ; and here are the basic motives of Italy's attitude towards England."

Mussolini is trying to do away with these difficulties by his efforts at self-sufficiency. Italy can today—dry years excepted—live on its own wheat. But the electrification of the country does not remove the difficulties as regards power production, the oil of Albania is not nearly enough, and food supplies are a source of anxiety.

WHERE BRITISH AND ITALIAN INTERESTS TOUCH

In order to confine her sources of supply to the Mediterranean, Italy has been seeking to acquire various bases. The *France Militaire* mentions the island of Saseno in the Adriatic, and Albania, as well as the Dodecanese in the Aegean, and believes that Italy, on account of the Suez Canal, would not hesitate to purchase the help of Egypt very dearly. In the Western Mediterranean, Italy belongs to the Powers represented in Tangier, and perhaps she will in some form or other lay hands on the Balearics.

The *France Militaire* ends its interesting article by mentioning that Mussolini, by raising the military strength and moral energies of the people, has tried to counter-balance Italy's geographical and economic vulnerability. In our opinion this hope can only be fulfilled to a limited extent. This extent is not so great as formerly, owing to the character of a modern war. And even in 1914 a highly-placed Italian naval officer said to us : " Ask anything you like of Italy—except a war with England ! "

ITALY'S ALPINE FRONTIER
South Tyrol is Not Enough

From the " Südtiroler Heimat," July, 1937

Before Mussolini became protector of Austrian independence, and formed with Hitler the bond known as the " Berlin-Rome Axis," the annexation and forcible Italianisation of the German-speaking South Tyrol was one of the greatest of German-Austrian grievances. Nowadays, however, nothing is heard of South Tyrol, except in the exiled paper from which we here quote, which is published in various different places outside Italy

THE problem of Italy's alpine frontier is one of the most important of European questions today. The traveller who crosses the Brenner Pass into Italy may gaze in wonder at the network of roads which wind up the mountain-side and appear to lose themselves in the rocky heights. " *Vietato severamente l'ingresso!* " proclaim huge hoardings, and the glint of bayonets warns him that a zone of warlike preparation guards the northern gateway into Italy.

It is not, however, solely material fortifications which keep watch over the outposts of Rome. It is a recognised feature of Italian policy

to precede territorial conquest by a pseudo-scientific conquest of the mind. Thus the annexation of South Tyrol was prepared not by any migration of population but by countless brochures and tracts, just as the memory of Adowa was kept green by the Ministry of Propaganda in anticipation of a renewed Abyssinian campaign. So it is that scientific publications, which at first sight appear merely scholarly treatises, are often the spear-head of some future political drive.

Such a book is Paulo Drigo's "*Claustra Provinciae*" which deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received.

Paulo Drigo served in the war as an eighteen-year old lieutenant in the Alpini, and then, after studying philosophy at the university of his home-town, Padua, became actively engaged in the different organisations whose aim it is to further the Italianisation of German-speaking South Tyrol. He was hailed in official circles as "a typical representative of the youth of the new Italy."

His book "*Claustra Provinciae*" treats the question of Italy's northern frontier from the geo-political standpoint. Although Italian *Geopolitik* is built up entirely from the work of Germans like Haushofer, Mault, and März, whose theories have no imperialistic bias, yet it is used by Drigo as a peg on which to hang the expansionist programme of Fascism. For over a century Italy's foreign policy was based on the so-called "Watershed Theory." As long ago as 1848 when Austria still ruled Venice and Lombardy, the Italian geographers maintained that all land drained by rivers flowing into the Adriatic should be regarded as Italian territory. Such a demand, which of course included the Brenner pass, then appeared fantastic, seeing that not even Verona or the Trentino was in Italian hands. In Austria this extravagant theory was not taken seriously and it was deemed superfluous to refute it with scientific weapons. And yet, untenable as it was, this theory ultimately triumphed since it enjoyed the necessary political and military backing.

Since that time, Italian *Geopolitik* has advanced yet another step. The "Watershed Theory" has been superseded. Paulo Drigo pokes fun at this "far too modest theory" and champions the thesis that Italy's domains should stretch not only to the watershed and the ridge of the Alps but beyond to the northern slopes and the foothills. In support of his contention he emphasises the Roman occupation of this territory.

Indifferent to the present axis and pact of amity, he broaches the problem of Italy's future frontiers. He points out that " without adequate protection on our northern border an acceleration of the rhythm of Fascist expansion in the Mediterranean would be rash and the success achieved in other directions (Abyssinia) transitory." He therefore claims that the entire Alpine ridge from Monte Rosa to the Schneeberg, on account of its traditional unity under the Romans and its immense physical structure, is Italy's natural bulwark against the Germanic world.

Drigo however recommends a two-fold application of his theory. Whilst demanding for the Swiss Ticino only the " reawakening of the consciousness of Italian nationality and liberation from the illusion of Helvetism," he denies us South Tyrolese all cultural and political rights and brutally dismisses the question with the reminder that " the province of the Alto Adige is ours to do what we like with."

The greater part of his book is concerned with what the author alleges to be the pro-Italian function of Austria. He is blind to the German traditions and sympathies of Austria which for him is still the former Roman province of Noricum, whose future role it is to serve as a strategic out-post to Fascist Italy and to protect her from external assault.

The question now remains as to what degree of importance should be attached to Drigo's book. Italy is now seeking to secure and stabilise her alpine frontier since she needs to turn all her energies to the colonisation of Abyssinia. The pacts with Austria and Hungary, the understanding with Yugoslavia, and the Rome-Berlin Axis are all steps in this direction. On the other hand, no young author in a State so authoritarian as modern Italy would hardly dare to treat political questions in a manner likely to arouse the disapproval of the Government. He would at least be able to count on the tacit support of the authorities. Besides, Drigo is a Fascist, and his work as a politician and as a writer will have taught him by now what views one may, and may not, express in Italy today. At all events, it behoves us in Tyrol and Austria—against whom Drigo's theories are aimed—to be on our guard. Drigo himself writes : " It is no service to our Fatherland to administer the narcotics of illusion." Well, we will take good care on this side of the Alps that *our* Fatherland labours under no illusions as to the grim destiny which seems to lie before it.

AGITATION OVER CYPRUS

From "Great Britain and the East," London, 29.7.37

WITH whatever interest the colony of Cyprus in these latter years may have become invested, it is safe to say that its internal political condition never gives to the British public the slightest anxiety. That public is vaguely aware that for some fifty years the island was endowed with a liberal Constitution, formed by Victorian doctrinaires, that under that Constitutional regime the island was a by-word for backwardness, and that, consequent upon the riots of 1931, when Government House was burned down, the political liberties of the Cypriots were curtailed. It is, moreover, abundantly satisfied that under the present direct administration considerable progress has been made, and it accepts the official statement that the mass of the islanders are content.

No very great impression, therefore, is likely to be made by the small party of Cypriots now in England, and from whom a letter appears elsewhere in this issue. Were these Cypriots appealing for something which had hitherto been denied them, had their escutcheon never been blotted by such events as those of 1931, more attention might be given to their campaign. The British nation is no lover of autocratic rule. Its granting of the powers of self-government in many different parts of the world is standing evidence to the contrary. If it approves of the withholding of autonomy, assuredly it does so with reason.

What is that reason in the case of Cyprus? It can be very simply stated. The clamour in Cyprus has never been for self-government pure and simple, but always for *enosis*, for "union with Greece." That has been the incessant theme of island politicians, and there is no need to believe, despite the apparent innocence of the present suggestion of restoring political liberties, that that aim has been permanently shelved. On the contrary, there is abundant reason to think that, behind this demand for democratic freedom, lies, unconfessed or unexpressed, the greater demand for union with Greece. Now Great Britain is in Cyprus, and, in the present troubled

state of the world, she means to stay there. And if she is to stay there, she must rule there. There is no half-way house. It is a choice between efficiency and disorder. And the authorities in Cyprus, backed by the British nation, are heavily on the side of efficiency. We cannot tolerate a repetition of the events of 1931.

Despite this frank avowal of motive, however, it would be absurd to assume that the islanders of Cyprus are groaning under a tyrannical yoke. The reverse is indeed the case. It is true that a certain number of politically-minded Greek-speaking citizens profess indignation over the curtailment of their hitherto profitless activities, but there is ample evidence that the majority of the inhabitants are content with the present benevolent administration. To suppose that there is in Cyprus an anti-British Nationalist feeling is untrue. The islanders perceive that they have never been so well governed before.

BRITAIN HAS ABOLISHED FREEDOM

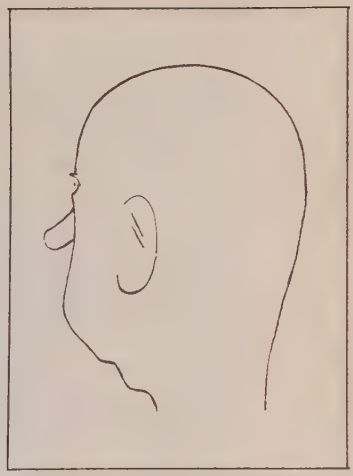
The following letter was sent to "Great Britain and the East" by three Cypriots, former members of the Executive and Advisory Councils of Cyprus, and an ex-Mayor of Larnaca

WE have read with interest in your issue of July 8 the views of Munir Bey with regard to the development of Cyprus. But we wish to take exception to his concluding lines, in which he asserts that "under the present regime the island is developing well."

We really fail to see where the alleged development lies. Unless one might consider as development, for example, the facts that under the present regime (*a*) franchise in Cyprus has been abolished; (*b*) representative institutions have been done away with; (*c*) the Cypriots are not allowed to discuss or to hear a political speech; (*d*) the newspapers are threatened with cancellation or suspension of their licence or with censorship if they touch on constitutional matters in opposition to the declared policy of the Government.

If Munir Bey refers to economic development of Cyprus we indeed fail to see where he finds it.

The public view of the whole matter is fundamentally different from the views expressed in the article referred to.



"Nebelspalter."

Hairdressing Trade Note :
The Reich-Patriot-Cut.
(Cut hair must be delivered up for felt manufacture in Germany.)

"Nebelspalter," Rohrschach.

. . . . and this is our most hopeless case . . . . the man imagines he understands the international political situation !"

THE LEFT THREATENS DEMOCRACY

From a letter to the "Manchester Guardian." *By Odette Keun*

(French journalist and author)

DURING the Socialist experiment in France I was travelling in England and America, and obtained my information as to French events through the Liberal papers of those two countries. It is true they faithfully recorded occurrences, but their estimate of the Blum Administration seemed to be almost wholly based on his (admirable) handling of the explosive international situation, and drew attention principally to the unprecedented *rapprochement* with England. I was therefore unprepared for certain conditions that confronted me when I returned recently to France, and as I cannot yet resign myself to the attitude of impotent onlooker, which appears to be that of so many of my fellow-Liberals, I should be grateful if you enabled me to point out in your columns the great danger democracy in France was made to run under the Socialist regime.

The worst legacy this regime left the country is not, to my mind, the financial and economic situation, disastrous though it certainly is. The worst legacy is a very evident trend towards government by popular-group pressure—mass government, in other words. An alarming regression and weakening of the Parliamentary system has come about. Since the advent of the Front Populaire to power the major negotiations of M. Blum and his Cabinet were made not with groups of deputies and senators but with the organ of Labour Syndicalism, the Confédération Générale du Travail or C.G.T., and with the organ of the great industrial firms, the Confédération Générale du Patronat Français, because of its vital importance to Labour. No other class in France was represented by influential delegates in the deliberations of the Socialist Ministry. The C.G.T. is indubitably dominated by the Communist extremists, who are not only preponderantly active in the Chamber but who have managed to annex the levers of command, the posts of secretaries, in all the most powerful syndicates in France—railways, metallurgy, chemical industries,

leather, skins. M. Jouhaux, the secretary general of the C.G.T., notoriously played the role of super-Minister—closeted nearly every day with the members of the Cabinet, nothing was done without consulting him and scarcely anything was done without his assent, save in matters of international policy. Pressure, therefore, of the Communist faction on the C.G.T., pressure of the C.G.T. on the Cabinet, pressure of the Cabinet on Parliament—the government of this country, during the last twelve months, consisted practically in a cascade of successive oppressions.

Political authority has rapidly escaped from the hands of Parliament, so hypnotised by the ever-recurring threat of a "Ministry of the Masses," so conscious of its feebleness and so eager to evade responsi-

"L'Echo de Paris."

RED FRONT A LA MODE.
"My dear Madame! Permit me to kiss your fist."

bility that it acquired the habit of passing motions *in toto* with the utmost docility, and, moreover, of adjourning on the slightest pretext. At a time when the State devalued the national currency without warning, nullified by law a great number of private contracts (individual and commercial, rents, farming agreements, the sales prices of commercial stocks, etc.), and when an extraordinary number of people considered it a proof of idiocy to keep their signed engagements, since " exceptional decrees " afforded them easy outlets and repudiations, the common citizen was faced with the loss of his constitutional defenders.

The Loss of Liberty

This dispossession of Parliament has also led to the curtailment of certain public liberties, such as the freedom of assembly and association, and, especially, of syndical freedom and freedom of labour. The loss of liberty for the worker is startling. Scores of thousands of independent workers have been dismissed from factories, on the imperious injunctions of the C.G.T., by employers menaced with a strike on the part of their organised personnel. The physical intimidation and browbeating of dissidents is prevalent, and although membership of the C.G.T. has increased it is impossible to doubt that coercion is, in innumerable cases, the reason for these adhesions. The strenuous effort to fight the grip of an official, exclusive, universally dictating Labour party is shown in the secession of the Syndicats Chrétiens and the groups of the Confédération Francaise du Travail, who claim the right to bargain with their employers themselves. But the C.G.T. continues to demand, with the greatest vehemence, that it should be given the monopoly of engaging all the workers in all the enterprises, industrial and commercial, in France.

If Parliament persists in its series of abdications we shall have a juggernaut Labour in this country, flattening out independence and criticism, and sooner or later the French proletariat will be reduced to the servility of the German and Italian working classes—for the Left is quite as ready to exercise tyranny as the Right. (Incidentally, it might be just as well to ponder the lesson the recent history of Europe teaches : that dictators come originally from the Left, although, since the nature of dictatorship is to govern without soliciting the consent of the governed, all dictators are speedily obliged to resort

to the army and to the police and to abolish private and public liberty in order to maintain their domination. It is the organic necessity of their function which compels them to move to the Right, but I repeat that they do not emerge from it. Soviet Russia is the most outstanding example of this fatal evolution.)

Surely there can be nothing more tragically preposterous than the consummation towards which we are sliding : that the vote given by the French people to the Front Populaire, because of the desire to protect the country against a possible grab for power on the part of the unutterably stupid Fascist Leagues, should result in the helpless subordination of all classes to the industrial proletariat. La Peur de la Rue (the Fear of the Street) weighs so heavily today on the Third Republic that unless Parliament makes a determined effort to recover legality the Republican institutions of France will become wholly paralysed.

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

From "L'Humanité," (Communist), Paris

PARISIANS are feeling annoyed, and they have good reason. The raising of fares on public vehicles—in violation of the vote of the *Conseil Général*—and the rise in taxi fares which are being imposed against the wishes of passengers and drivers alike are formidable additions to the general rise in the cost of living.

The trusts do not recognise the suspension of profits. The dweller in the suburbs who pays more for his "season," and the Parisian who pays more for his 'bus and metro ticket, and more for his water, his gas and his electricity, are both beginning to ask the meaning of this strange interpretation of the Popular Front programme. The increase in purchasing power was never meant, in their opinion, to give them the means of paying more dearly for their purchases and providing the trusts with a bonus.

It is not the bankruptcy of a policy that we are faced with, as the reactionaries and Fascists claim ; it is simply the result of failure to apply the necessary *financial* measures to assure the success of the *social* measures that were applied—this, and this alone, has caused the disequilibrium.

There are other means of balancing the Budget besides getting the money out of the poor. And only by political unity, by the strengthening and tightening up of the *Front Populaire*, can these means, whether they be financial measures, or the re-organisation of transport, or the modernisation of industry or the increase of production be made effective.

The people have a sense of their rights, but they have no sense of their duties, except insofar as they identify the country's interest with their own. That is why the Central Committee of our Party, anxious to preserve a political entity which is the best barrier against Fascism and to prevent the *Front Populaire* from becoming an empty form, has been well inspired to call upon all Communists to work for a general Congress of the Popular Front and to do everything possible to obtain unity with our socialist comrades.

Anxiety with regard to this effort at union is shown by the reactionary Press—anxiety which is the stronger since the recent deliberations of the C.G.T. (Trade Union Congress) deeply provoked the circles to which the 200 families belong. "The pause is

"Prager Presse," Prague.

"I hope you like the fish, Sir." "Well I *have* tasted better." "But not here!"

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris.

"Dear, you say? Not at all! And moreover, above the cost of living comes the Nation!"

threatened !" cries Kerillis in the *Epoque*. He considers that the municipal elections of October constitute a danger, because he very well knows that they will confirm the wishes of the people of France to see what Kerillis calls "the full programme of the *Front Populaire*" applied. He then calls the Radicals to the rescue—a vain appeal.

Not a single party, not a single organisation adhering to the *Front Populaire* is going back upon the programme which they drew up in concert. There may be differences of opinion as to the rate of application of this programme, but that is all. And it is the people of France, in the last resort, who will be its judge.

WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN?

From "L'Ordre," Paris

TWO opposing tendencies have become more and more apparent in the inner circles of the Popular Front. One side clamours for more boldness—even temerity—of action and the other side finds itself forced to give way a little in order not to have to concede everything.

The will of the masses against the "crystallisation" of the Popular Front is showing itself more imperatively than it did a year ago. We have too often seen the government of the masses impose its will upon the regular government not to fear that the same thing will happen again today or tomorrow. The moderate socialist element and even the Radicals may, after a certain amount of resistance, have to obey the orders of the extra-parliamentary bodies. The organisers speak like masters who are accustomed to be obeyed. The "pause," condemned when it was signed "Leon Blum," is ridiculed, and pronounced absolutely inacceptable when it is signed "Camille Chautemps." So what is going to happen?

DIVINE

Public Meetings : Central Hall, Westminster : "The Divine Destiny of the British Throne and Empire." Important addresses by qualified speakers.—*Advt. in Daily Express.*

MUZZLES FOR ALL

FIGHTING THE CENSOR

by WILLIAM P. CARNEY

From "Scribner's Magazine," New York

News-gathering is no easy job nowadays, as the recent German outbreak of expulsion fever has shown afresh. Here a journalist, who has been foreign correspondent for the "New York Times" for over ten years, tells something of the ways of censors and how they are evaded

WORLD censorship of news is in a bull market in 1937. On practically all fronts, the dispatches which keep American readers in contact with world affairs are being snipped, slashed, or held up until valueless. London is the only great date line on a foreign dispatch which guarantees the American reader that what he reads is what the correspondent set out to send.

War-born in 1914, censorship in open or under-cover form now covers all European and Asiatic countries, with the exception of the British Empire, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia. Only the world war, which Europe foresees and dreads, could send it to a higher level. While censorship in each country varies in accordance with the political situation prevailing at the moment, an absolute censorship on cables and radios now obtains in Russia, Japan Germany, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Portugal, and Poland. Spain endeavours to censor every dispatch, including those for telephone transmission.

Under-cover censorship, or censorship in modified form, obtains in China, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland. Censorship varying between modified and absolute prevails in all the important countries of South America. Africa, with the exception of that part under the British flag, is governed by the rules of censorship obtaining in Europe.

Of the major European powers, Russia, Germany, and Italy today impose the tightest censorship on American correspondents. The reason for censorship in Russia is admittedly to prevent world criticism of the government. Walter Duranty, *Times** correspondent

* The *Times* in this article refers to the New York paper.

in Moscow since the establishment of the Soviet regime, tells me that censorship there originally professed to have no purpose beyond preventing the publication of untrue statements about the U.S.S.R., but that this was speedily extended to include " malicious " statements, and finally what the authorities termed " maliciously unfair " statements, meaning any marked tendency to dwell upon the less favourable factors of Soviet life. Duranty, of course, does not use the telephone from Moscow. All his cable dispatches must be submitted to the censor before he hands them in for transmission. Rigid rules have to be complied with, and it is necessary often to confer with the censor about sentences or paragraphs or, sometimes, even the question of whether the dispatch in its entirety could be passed.

" Tendentious," says the censor.

He means that the phrase, sentence, or entire dispatch has a tendency to put his country or its government in an unfavourable light. The correspondent may present his reasons for believing that the matter in question is not " tendentious." But the chances are that he loses, and out goes that part of his dispatch, or all of it.

Ears at the Telephone

In Germany, *The Times*, as well as other New York dailies and the American press associations, uses the telephone, perhaps more than the cable or radio. Correspondents telephone to London or Paris, whence their dispatches are relayed by cable or wireless to the United States. Whenever American correspondents resort either to direct cable or wireless transmission, their dispatches are handed in at the general post office for inspection by press censors under Paul Joseph Goebbels, Minister for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment.

When dispatches are telephoned to Paris or London, the correspondent must always bear in mind the many topics he knows would offend Minister Goebbels. His telephoned conversation may or may not be listened to. It nearly always is. I have no record of a telephone conversation being interrupted, but there is good reason to believe that a stenographic record of important telephone dispatches is made either on a dictaphone or other automatic recording machine. Correspondents have been called up by the Ministry for questioning about a dispatch a few hours after it was telephoned and long before it possibly could have appeared in print. . . .

Sometimes the roar-back is delayed. It might take Goebbels a

week to learn that the dispatch which seemed innocuous at the time it was sent was not as innocent of Nazi criticism as was thought. Perhaps the American reaction to a dispatch could not be gauged immediately. The cabled report of the German Embassy in Washington, followed by more details by letter, might lead to questioning of a correspondent, or his ejection from the country. . . .

Correspondents of years of experience and unquestioned wisdom get away with much that their younger and more callow confrères could not attempt. The censor hesitates to lay a profane pencil on their copy, and their dispatches nearly always come through unscathed. Of course, they know their limits.

Italy is similar to Germany. Dispatches designed for cable or wireless transmission are passed through the post office, which controls all mail, telegraph, and wireless. Before transmission of any dispatch is authorised, a censor of the staff of the Foreign Ministry goes over it. It must suit him before it can be passed. Sentences or paragraphs may be objectionable. "Tendentious," says the censor. In that event, the censor will get in touch with the correspondent, and with the correspondent's help the offending matter will be changed or deleted.

Home Consumption Only

Wording of dispatches is never changed by the censor without consulting the correspondent, although minor deletions are made and the dispatch hurried on. This is generally true in all the countries where absolute censorship prevails. Italy's surveillance of telephone news is not, however, so close as Germany's. There is no indication of listening in or of recording the conversations, and the reaction to a dispatch telephoned out of Italy is by no means as instantaneous as in Germany.

Nevertheless, the Italians can move quickly on one point: Mussolini's fiery speeches. Some of them are meant for home consumption only, which means that accurate reporting is indiscreet. David Darrah of *The Chicago Tribune* reported one such speech made by Mussolini in Sardinia during the Ethiopian campaign. Darrah left Italy within twenty-four hours, without even time to pack. His clothes were sent after him.

Hitler and Stalin do not put this restriction on their speeches. When they talk, they talk for world consumption. But while the

tactics vary in these three dictatorships, the main strategy is the same : to prevent criticism.

My own opinion is that the news, on which criticism feeds, is only delayed, that eventually American readers of the best American newspapers learn what is happening abroad.

I base this opinion on my own recent experience in Spain with the Madrid Government's censorship. Over a period of five months I was prevented by the censorship from saying much that I wanted to say in my dispatches. Then one day my paper ordered me to leave Spain and write a long, uncensored piece in Paris about what was happening in Madrid. I believe the effect in America of that one long article, containing all that I had not been allowed to say in five months, was far more harmful, or at least produced more unfavourable criticism of the Madrid Government, than would have resulted if from day to day I had been allowed to say the little in my dispatches that the censors objected to.

How They Do it in the East

Censorship in the Far East, from what I have learned from my newspaper's cable editors, is similar in many ways to censorship in Europe. In Japan, an American correspondent must obtain a press card from the Ministry of Communications before he can do any work at all. But thereafter he can write his dispatches and hand them in with his press card at the cable or wireless offices for immediate transmission. His messages need not be submitted first to a censor. However, if he writes anything that the government may object to strongly, after it appears in print, the correspondent may have his press card withdrawn immediately or be warned that it will be withdrawn if the offence is repeated. The Japanese Government objects, above all, to certain types of references to the Emperor. There must be no levity or facetiousness in any reference to His Imperial Majesty, and no treatment of communism in Japan as a serious movement.

In times of military censorship, American correspondents get around it by telephoning to Shanghai, where the Chinese censor will gladly pass anything indicating trouble in Japan.

The outwitting might take this form : The Tokyo correspondent calls the Shanghai correspondent of his paper and opens the conversation with pleasant inquiries as to the state of the latter's health. In

the course of a seemingly personal and trivial conversation, he remarks, "By the way, old Sourpuss was bumped off to-day." Sourpuss might be the nickname these two had agreed upon for an outstanding figure in Japanese life. The Shanghai correspondent would not need any further instructions.

In China, on the other hand, correspondents hand in their dispatches at the cable or wireless offices, but they are never sent until the censor has read and approved them. There have been frequent cases of American correspondents having their cables mutilated without their being consulted at all. Dispatches have been held up indefinitely, and more than one American correspondent has been thrown out. The Chinese are extremely sensitive to any criticism. Military operations are almost continual, and the correspondent is handicapped by not being able to report troop movements.

One way of outwitting the censor in China is to mail dispatches to Hongkong, which is British territory. Another dodge is to telephone to fellow correspondents in Tokyo.

French Tactics

A perfect example of undercover censorship is provided by France, where I served for eight years in the Paris Bureau of *The New York Times* before becoming correspondent in 1933. As in Italy, the French postal, telephone, and telegraph services are controlled by the Ministry of Communications. News from France nearly always is transmitted by cable or wireless, quickly and just as it is written. Dispatches are sent to the cable or wireless office, but as a matter of course must pass through the general post office where they are rapidly scanned by an unofficial censor (who never is designated as such and is not supposed to exist at all).

There is no delay in transmission unless some correspondent, intentionally or unintentionally, reveals important military secrets or includes some information which might vitally injure French commerce. Usually such dispatches are mysteriously "lost" and found the next day, when the correspondent is notified from the post office that the dispatch "unfortunately" was not sent and in looking it over they found that some bureau of some ministry would like to question the correspondent about it before it is sent.

Sometimes the French Embassy in Washington finds in a dispatch

from Paris a statement which it does not approve. Then, some weeks later, the correspondent is questioned, ever so politely, by a French dignitary. The dignitary might even cloak his wish for further information by an invitation to lunch.

But occasionally a dispatch gets by with news which causes an international situation. The result is something more unpleasant than lunch with wines. Witness the case of Harold J. T. Horan, who was Paris correspondent for Universal Service in 1929. Obtaining a copy of a secret naval agreement between France and Great Britain, Horan telephoned it to London, whence it was cabled to America. Its publication in the United States naturally reverberated across the Atlantic. Horan was called in for questioning by the *Sureté Générale*—the Scotland Yard of Paris—and asked to leave the country. William Randolph Hearst then stepped in. As Horan's employer he tried to save his man by saying that he and not Horan had gotten the copy of the treaty and had telephoned it to London. For his pains Mr. Hearst was also banned from France. The ban was later lifted, but Hearst has never taken advantage of this second thought. " It still sticks as far as I'm concerned," he says.

Great Britain deserves more than a small cheer for its preservation of the freedom of the Press. It is the one major power which abolished the censorship at the conclusion of the World War and has not since restored it—in any form. The American correspondent working in London enjoys practically the same measure of freedom that he would working in his own country. . . .

FREEDOM

In the world's freest and most democratic land, the U.S.S.R., only persons faithful to Communism and to our Fatherland can be employed on our newspapers in any capacity.—*Pravda, Moscow.*

MELODY OF THE TRUNCHEONS

A world without police would be like a world without music—a very dreary world indeed.—*Mayor of Johnstown, Pa., speaking from the bench while presiding over the trial of six striking steel workers. "New York Post."*

TEMPTING OFFER

If the Duke and Duchess will come to Mound City to live, we agree never to mention them in the locals without using the prefix Her Royal Highness, with Wally's name.—*Mound City (Mo.) News-Independent.*

GERMANY'S WAY WITH LABOUR
Back to the Guilds

From the " Deutsch-Französische Monatsheft "

IN all industrial lands the majority of workers have never received a true professional education.

At the present moment more than 30 per cent. of the workers employed in industry are without professional education. About 20 per cent. of all employed have learnt only to manipulate a particular machine or to do a not very difficult piece of work. There are even some industries, *e.g.* the chemical industry, where only 40 per cent. of the workmen have received professional education. The state of affairs can better be realised when it is known that 600,000 youths leave the elementary schools annually, and to only 350,000 of them is a professional education guaranteed.

It goes without saying that in the long run such a situation is intolerable. From the moral point of view, it is unjust not to be able to give that social security which is guaranteed only by a trade carefully learnt in the course of a true professional education. From another angle, the present state of things is not only unjust to the individual but equally dangerous for the whole rational economic system.

The leader of the German Labour Front, Dr. Ley, and the Minister of Education, Dr. Rust, have decided in co-operation to introduce a fundamental reform of professional education. Its first principle is the introduction of the so-called " Robinson year " for all pupils in the top class of elementary schools. In the course of this year the young will spend their time in elementary wood and metal work ; the use of iron will teach them to work with care and accuracy ; the use of wood will give freedom to those who are more fitted for individual, creative work. At the same time the " Robinson year " will help to guide the apprentices slowly towards the occupation for which they are by nature fitted and in this way to avoid the arbitrary adoption of a profession. Finally every man wishing to become a workman or artisan will have to work for two years as an apprentice with a master belonging to the artisans' Guild. Having finished this

primary education the young workman will spend another year in a special workshop of a large factory in order to become a *Geselle* or "companion." As *Geselle* (or journeyman apprentice) he has to travel across the whole of Germany so as to get to know his country ; after this he will pass his examination to become a "master." Every year the apprentices, the companions and even the masters will have to take part in a professional competition. To complete his technical education compulsory professional schools will be established for all youths choosing the trade of workmen or artisan.

The authors of this reform hope thus to solve one of the most terrible problems of the "labour question" and to offer to the nation at the same time the specialists it so badly needs.

IN A GIRLS' LABOUR CAMP

The inscription on the wall reads : "One thing stands written large in the heavens : Everything may pass away, but Germany—our children and Fatherland—Germany must endure !"

THE CLOVEN HOOF IN EIRE

From " Narodni Politika," Prague

" Boys will be boys ! " was roughly the way in which the British Press commented on the explosions which were a feature of the King and Queen's visit to Northern Ireland recently. Very different was the reaction in less placid States, to whom the English attitude is always a source of worry and puzzlement. Here is a typical example from Czechoslovakia

AFTER these latest happenings, perhaps even those Englishmen's eyes will be opened, who still do not fully grasp the extent of German—and, probably, Italian—activities in Ireland ; for the Irish revolutionary movement, in fighting Anglican England, frequently disguises itself in a Catholic cloak.

England continues obstinately only to protect the coast of Flanders, and her policy is to see that Germany does not rule in Belgium and Holland. But now one may well credit the reports which state that the Germany Army has already established its secret aerodromes in Ireland, seriously threatening England in the rear. Germany is obviously paying the Irish revolutionaries, supplying them with bombs, guns and explosives, and organising them. Just as she did during the World War.

And so we expect that the events in Ireland will produce a complete change-over in the views of those Englishmen who have so far had no better counsel to offer, to Czechoslovakia too, than : " Come to an agreement quickly and at any price with Germany, and don't irritate her." Great Britain is conciliatory to Germany, and reaps the reward—in Ireland !

GIGOLOS A STRONG MARKET

Someone now on his way Home on leave was so impressed with an item in the ship's radio news that he sent it on to me. Here it is :

" Perfect social escorts will be available at a price for feminine visitors to London in future. For £3 you can hire a young man who dances well, talks well, knows the social graces and boasts a fine family tree. Extra charge for late hours. For £6 he will take you on a full round of London night life from theatre to night club and breakfast. Food, drink and cover charges extra, Oxford accent tossed in."—" *Straits Times*," *Singapore*.

FAR EASTERN EXPLOSION ~

ABOUT NORTH CHINA

by PU SHIH-KWAN, PEKING

From "Die Neue Weltbühne," Prague (Socialist Weekly)

"Provocation" by the Chinese, on the one hand, and expansionist designs by Japan on the other are the rival causes of the war in China given by the two combatants. Here, and in the following articles, we give expressions of opinion on both sides, and an analysis of reasons why, in an American writer's opinion, Japan does not constitute a real menace to any first-class Power

JAPAN'S new offensive is a link in the chain of invasions which began in September, 1931, with the occupation of Manchuria, continued in January, 1932, with the fighting in Shanghai, went on in the spring of 1933 with the occupation of Jehol, and was carried on according to plan in November, 1936, with the war in Suiyuan.

The theft of the five North Chinese provinces—Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Chahar and Suiyuan—which had been in preparation for years, was of even greater importance to Japan than the occupation of Manchuria, for these five provinces supply 55 per cent. of all China's wheat, and 60 per cent. of her entire cotton production; they contain 88 per cent. of the Chinese coal supply, 64 per cent. of the Chinese railway lines, and important deposits of iron ore. Politically, the provinces would constitute for Japan a new, strategically extremely important, jumping-off ground for troops against the Mongolian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and Central China.

In order to reach their goal in North China the Japanese tried, two years ago, to bring to life a so-called autonomy movement in the five North Chinese provinces. This failed; the Japanese were only able to found the "autonomous anti-Communistic Council for East Hopei," with the help of a few bribed officials, and after that to occupy a few strategically important places in Hopei and Chahar.

Later, the "Political Council for Chahar and Hopei" was founded, an organ for discussion between China and Japan on all North Chinese questions, to which various army officers and high officials who were not unfriendly to Japan belonged. The Chinese people

looked on this Council with aversion, as they are hostile in general to everything that brings them closer to Japan.

Since the establishment of the first puppet government in North China, demonstrations against Japan have taken place all over the country, in which students, workers, thousands of professors, teachers and members of the *petite bourgeoisie*, and even of the richer classes, took part. Though there were many arrests at first this movement went on developing successfully, up to the autumn of 1936, into an extensive mass organisation, the "League for the Rescue of China," which is feared by the Japanese. Eight times the Japanese Ambassador Kawagoe negotiated with Chiang Kai-shek, and eight times negotiations were broken off, because the Generalissimo, under the pressure of public opinion, could not give in to Japan.

The Japanese demands were as follows :—

1. Economic co-operation between Japan and China.
2. Political autonomy for North China.
3. An anti-communistic pact between China and Japan on the lines of the treaty between Japan and Germany.

The first demand was already to a certain degree a *fait accompli*, for Japan had begun on "economic co-operation," that is to say, the exploitation of North China. By further "co-operation" the Japanese meant :—

1. The establishment of airways which would have military and political importance. With this end in view the Huitung Air Company, with a capital of four-and-a-half million American dollars, was founded, which had the task of organising five air lines from Tientsin, whose existence would be a real help to the Japanese army, for Tokyo could then be reached from Tientsin in eight hours.

2. The second point of "economic co-operation" was the exploitation of the iron mines in Hopei and of the coal mines in Shansi by the Japanese. Since Japan possesses little iron ore herself she is compelled to import annually an average of four million tons from Manchuria, India, the U.S.A., France, and, to a lesser degree, from Russia. The mines of Lungyen have a capacity of ninety-one million tons of the best quality ore.

3. The third point of "economic co-operation" is concerned with the construction of eleven railway lines. First of all the Japanese

want to build, with a capital of about eight million American dollars, the Chang-Shih line in Hopei, which would be extraordinarily useful for their purposes. This line is not very long (about 221 kilometres) but it is of special military and economic importance, since it runs through the richest coal and iron district of the province, a district in which, moreover, much wheat is grown and cotton produced. The great economic importance of this railway line is proved by the fact that during the years 1925-29 Italy, France, England and Japan struggled, one after the other, to get permission from the Chinese Government to build it, all without success.

4. The last point of the Japanese economic programme concerns the projected extension of the Haiko and Taku harbours. Japan's original plan was to dig the river bed of the Haiko deeper, in order to make it possible for Japanese steamers and warships to land right in Tientsin.

The annihilation of the Chinese communists, and the division of the Chinese people into two hostile camps, was the aim of the Japanese militarists. Now they want, once again, to conduct a great planned war in North China in order to maintain their power which, as the results of the last election proved, is threatened even in their own country.

STUNNING BLOW IS WANTED

From "Kokumin," Tokyo

THE outrages of Chinese soldiers in North China are increasing. They have trampled on all agreements, and Japan can no longer stand the situation. Despite its declaration that it means to follow a policy of not enlarging the trouble, Japan is likely to be forced by circumstances into taking drastic action in order to uproot the sources of evil in China. The real cause of the current situation is quite clear. It is the Nanking Government's policy of imbuing the people and soldiers of China with zeal for resisting and insulting Japan. Some members of the Government seem to realise that this policy has been carried too far, but it is now too late for them to do anything about it. Nanking must reap what it has sown.

Japan should have nothing to do with Chinese attempts to effect

a compromise in order to save face. It must act drastically to make the Chinese people reconsider their attitude. This may prove a bitter pill for them to swallow, but it will be effective in remedying their evils. If the pill is given, they will awake from their narcotic slumber and see the real need for reconstruction of China. They will thus be able to preserve their independence and prestige as the oldest race in the world. China is at present nothing but a semi-colonial country. To save itself from this awkward situation, it must realise the greatness of the Japanese race.

We stressed at first the need for localising the North China situation, but we have revised our view now that it has come to the present pass. The misguided policy of the Nanking Government over many years is the real source of all the trouble. A local settlement would hardly fulfil requirements. Japan's attacks must be concentrated on the Central Government.

It is reported that the Government has made known to China through diplomatic channels what it considers necessary for solution of the situation. If Nanking does not accept, it should be dealt a stunning blow. The situation in China for the past few years has been not unlike that which prevailed before the Sino-Japanese War. Li Hung-chang and his associates went too far in insulting Japan, and Chiang Kai-shek and his New China are repeating the blunder in a more serious manner. China must realise that Japan is not in the least afraid of war.

IS JAPAN DANGEROUS?
A Bogey Laid

by MARC T. GREENE

(*American newspaper correspondent*)

From "Current History," New York

THE American is all at sea in trying to size up the situation in Japan. And he is equally off soundings in his endeavour to understand the Japanese people.

And yet it is so simple, after all. For here are millions of people,

desperately overcrowding a country the size of the British Isles and only a sixth of which is really arable, all trying to sustain their existence. The pathos lies in the fact that they are satisfied with so little. Go about the country, in the villages, even into the poorer parts of the large cities, and mark the measure of contentment that prevails.

Are these millions of peasantry, these city industrial workers who are labouring at the highest kind of high pressure for little more than the subsistence minimum that Japan may expand her foreign trade and thus build up an enduring economic structure, are they all to go on securing even that little? Or are they are to be crushed entirely by the burden of an enormous military establishment almost certain to force the country into a foreign war?

That is the main issue for Japan and it was never more clearly defined than at this moment. It is inseparably associated with the political issue, which is one of authoritarianism or democracy. By the way the two are decided Japan will stand or fall, be a menace to the world or a friend.

The War Spirit is Absent

The world, especially America, is apt to conclude that the whole Japanese attitude towards the rest of the world is a definitely aggressive one, that the whole country is in the grip of the militaristic obsession, that Japan is swayed from end to end by the "will-to-power," and is, therefore, dangerous.

Nothing could be farther from the facts. And if it were a question, or even in any considerable degree a question, of the will of the Japanese people *en masse* there would be little for the world to apprehend. What more convincing proof of that is necessary than the May election, when the two parties representing not only the hopes and wishes of the common people, but also the views of the middle class and the demands of the great industrialists, swamped the militaristic Hayashi Government? Yet on the day following this decisive result the Army itself, throwing all its cards face up on the table, prepared this statement and caused the War Minister to submit it to Premier Hayashi :—

> Resignation by the Government at the present time would nullify the effect of the effort to have the political parties engage in self-examination embodied in the dissolution of the Lower

House. It is up to the Government to watch the Parties for a while to ascertain whether or not they have gained the proper conception of the situation.

The naive precocity of this would be laughable if the potentialities of such an attitude were not so deadly. The two popular political parties have overwhelmed the Government at the polls, but that is a mere childlike gesture of defiance sure to be regretted as soon as those parties, having engaged in "self-examination" under the Army's watchful eye, have " gained the proper conception of the situation," that is to say, realised the unpatriotic enormity of what they have done in opposing the Army's will. After that other measures will be in order, and unless the people resist them the last vestiges of democracy will indeed have disappeared from Japan, and she will have become a menace to peace.

The leading newspapers, such as the well-known *Asahi*, are opposing the blatant attitude of the Government in flouting the public will so far as they dare, which is not very far.

Army Propaganda

But for every one of these leaders twenty small town sheets are disseminating Army propaganda. The smaller the town and the less literate the readers, the more preposterous is the character of this sort of printed propaganda. The people are told that if only they will back the Army and " defend Japanese nationalism against the foreigners who would destroy it," Japan will some day attain to the " complete dominance of the Pacific," and compel a " reverent respect " from all the world. After which the economic position will be so greatly improved that every farmer will at least be sure of tomorrow's handful of rice.

There is no doubt whatever that the studied and thoroughly-organised Government propaganda is having its effect even upon the naturally well-disposed Japanese masses. Moreover, anyone who is unresponsive to it runs a strong chance of trouble, and perhaps of personal danger. The Government has its spies everywhere. Numberless arrests occur weekly for " dissemination of dangerous thoughts."

And yet the May election strikingly declared the slow progress the military regime is making in its endeavour to convert the Japanese people to an aggressive and militant imperialism. The fact is that the

Japanese are simply not constituted that way. They are, on the contrary, temperamentally friendly, kind-hearted, anxious to please all foreigners.

Said the leading Osaka newspaper, *Mainichi*, the other day :—

> When other nations tell us our standard of living is low, we do not like it. . . . As a rising nation, pioneering its own way through handicap and hardship, we are ready to make greater sacrifices than those who are enjoying already the fruits of past struggles. . . . If other nations are afraid to compete with Japan's low production cost, they are simply advised not to irritate our sore spot. Every barrier erected against our exports will make us preserve our teeth-gritting spirit of pioneers that much irritate our sore spot. Every barrier erected against our exports will make us preserve our teeth-gritting spirit of pioneers that much longer. It is not Japan, but her foreign competitors who are keeping the labour cost in Japan so low. Give us a chance to speed up our transformation from an empire-builder to an empire-preserver. That will mean the basic solution of the so-called world economic problem concerning Japan.

This very succinctly sets forth the Japanese point of view in the matter of cheap production. Note the words "empire-preserver." This cheap production, "dumping" if you prefer to call it that, must go on and in increasing measure in order to preserve the empire.

Nine out of every ten Japanese desire peace, amity with other nations, and an end to the increasingly rigid militaristic regime. Some of that nine-tenths, like the large merchant class and the great industrialists whose prosperity depends on foreign trade, even the powerful banking and shipping interests like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, would have peace because an enduring peace and that alone can mean prosperity for Japan. But the average Japanese is friendly by temperament, and I challenge anyone who knows Japan to establish the contrary.

The other exceptions (apart from the military) to the general tendency towards non-agression and anti-militarism are various elements of the younger Japanese, a large part of the student class, idle pleasure-seeking sons of the rich, a few of the aristocracy, and the relatively small group of sincere believers in the political principle of authoritarianism.

The "young Japanese group," as it likes to call itself, is the counterpart of the young Fascists and Blackshirts in Italy and the young Nazis in Germany. If you, as a foreign tourist, have any unpleasant experiences in Japan, it is practically certain to be from this group. Indeed, it can hardly be from anybody else.

In civil differences in any country the side having the military with it generally wins. In Japan one side is the military, with a certain following. The other side is the people represented in the Seyukai and Minseito Parties, with able leaders tied of hand and gagged of mouth. In the Diet dissolved just before the recent election these were unable to make any stand against the passage of a budget which devoted more than half in total to the fighting services, or for the very necessary revision of the election laws, and more than 40 other measures having to do with the economic and social welfare of the people. All of them were passed by because disregarded by the Army and Navy. Ignored likewise was the protest by the people's representatives against the crushing and ever-increasing burden of taxation while the largest budget in the nation's history was forced through by Army-Navy threats and bullying. That means the total debt will reach the enormous sum of 11,000,000,000 yen ($3,500,000,000) next year, having increased more than 735,000,000 yen within twelve months.

Trade Figures Cause Uneasiness

It is clear that only a rapid expansion of foreign trade will sustain such a burden. And when the business and commercial leaders of Japan contemplate an unfavourable trade balance for the first four months of the present year of 300,000,000 yen, it makes them more than ever dissatisfied and uneasy. Such an unfavourable balance, more than double that of the same period of 1936, has the utmost significance. First, of course, it reveals the extent of Japanese foreign purchases of raw materials, chiefly for military purposes, and those mostly of steel and copper. Yet despite such purchases the steel shortage is so acute that 20,000,000 yen worth of commercial and general construction work has had to be abandoned to the demands of the military establishment for the metal. Clearly disclosed, then, is the extent of "preparedness" plans in Japan, and their huge expense to the people.

Assuming that the militaristic party is able to carry through its programme, just how dangerous will Japan become to the peace of the world? The recklessness, amounting almost to madness, of the Army and Navy in their insistence on a more aggressive foreign policy, and their precocious confidence in their ability to "bluff" the world on the basis of past successes, both lend to the threat its dangerous character. Between this and the economic menace there is little or no association, and the latter can be met effectively by a number of means, while the former can be countered only by similar "bluff," which, failing, inevitably means force.

Such being the nature of the Japanese threat, just what is behind it? Just how great is the power to enforce the "bluff" if "called"?

Four Weaknesses

Four fundamental causes detract from that power, and eliminate Japan as a real danger, at least more than temporary, to the peace of the world. They are, in order of significance, as follows:—

(1) The ominous financial position and economic weakness due to an unfavourable trade balance, heavy debt burden and excessive taxation.

(2) The destruction of foreign trade consequent upon a large-scale war.

(3) The physical condition of the Japanese workers and peasantry, who would have to be drawn upon heavily in the event of war with a first-class power, resulting from years of intensive labour under hard and sometimes inhuman conditions and upon a low standard of living, and their temperamental disinclination for war.

(4) The ineffectiveness of the Japanese military establishment, considered from the standpoint of a first-class power, modern equipment and European morale.

Number one has been outlined in sufficient detail, though it would be possible to adduce much more evidence. Number two is too obvious to require comment. Number three is equally clear to anyone at all acquainted with prevailing conditions. Number four, perhaps, demands some elucidation.

The fact is, of course, that Japan, though her militarists are fond of claiming that she has never known defeat in war, has never

encountered anything like a first-class power. It is only absurd to base any boastful claims on the conflict with Russia. It was no more a conflict with a first-class power than was the affair at Shanghai in 1931. And anyone who was there knows how little military glory that "incident" reflected upon the Japanese and how far it was from establishing any just claim to military prowess.

No Match for a First-Class Power

Whence, then, comes this notion that has gained so much ascendancy throughout the world, especially in America, that Japan is a dangerous threat to a first-class military power?

Is it because of such frenzied, perfervid, fanatic nationalism as was widely publicised through the Shanghai "human-bomb" episode, and the fear that a people who, as it appears, willingly die rather than yield, are very dangerous? But there are plenty of equivalent happenings in the war annals of every people. And in any case such frenzy soon exhausts itself, both physically and psychologically.

Moreover, in air strength, more important than everything else combined in modern warfare, as we have seen proven conclusively enough lately in Spain, the Japanese are notoriously ineffective. Not for an instant could they withstand the enormous and highly efficient Soviet air force stationed at Vladivostok, to take one example, and they know that perfectly well. And even if they could hope to bring Germany into a war with Russia on the west, how would that save Japan in the east?

War with America? Even if the militarists should embark upon so reckless an enterprise, it is more than doubtful that they could carry the country with them. The people of Japan as a whole feel more friendly to America today than in years. They want no misunderstanding with us and, so far as anything that is of the future can, in days like these, be forecast with any certainty, they will have none.

And upon what basis is founded the high regard for Japanese naval strength that keeps the Pacific side of America so apprehensive? Granted the power and the modernity of Japanese naval units on paper, what about the personnel, its fighting effectiveness and its morale? The only available standard of judgment is again the war with Russia.

There is no intent to affront the Japanese by unfair criticism of their fighting forces, but for the good of all concerned it is time this bogey of the Japanese menace was laid. The fact is that Japan in her present condition could not sustain a large-scale foreign war unaided for a month. Furthermore, the Japanese people would certainly mutiny as soon as the myth of invincibility so carefully built up by systematic propaganda were exploded by one bad defeat. As a people they do not want war. They want peace in order to carry on their industries and secure a decent standard of living and freedom from apprehension, from uncertainty of what the future holds. Only the strongest kind of assurance that war would presently bring all those things, together with an increased measure of world-prestige, could induce them to accept it. And as soon as that assurance were destroyed, as would speedily happen, there would be revolution. That may come as it is, if military despotism continues and the economic burden it involves grows heavier.

COURTESY AT THE FRONT LINE

"But is not Eastern Chahar still subject to the Chinese Government?" I asked Father Meyer of the Mission.

" Certainly, and normally this district is patrolled by troops under the command of the Tutung at Kalgan. Tomorrow, however, one of Tutung's staff is to carry out an inspection of the Chinese forces at Paochang, not many miles away. As frequently happens, the local commander has not enough men to show on parade, and asks the Manchurian General to lend him a few for the day. They duly arrive, change their armlets, and take their places beside the forces with which they were exchanging hostilities yesterday. This is not considered dishonest or traitorous since the Chinese will do the same for the Manchus when requested."—*Magazine Digest.*

FIDO THE PARACHUTIST

Experiments in parachute-jumping for dogs are being carried out in the Soviet army. After Soviet soldiers have landed by parachute behind the lines in enemy territory, their messenger dogs should be able to follow them by the same means. One recent experiment was carried out by a Soviet airman who climbed to 1,800 feet. At a word of command, and without showing a trace of fear, the dog is stated to have jumped into space. The automatic parachute opened and the animal floated slowly towards the ground. The dog's trainer jumped almost simultaneously, and was thus able to watch the dog as it descended. The trainer stated afterwards that the animal kept perfectly still during the descent. When the trainer called to it by name it turned its head towards him and barked. Finally it landed gently on the ground.—" *Air Review,*" *London.*

THE WORLD'S OLDEST NEWSPAPERS

From the "Sydney Morning Herald," Australia

IT is a proud reflection for the English that seven out of ten of all the newspapers in the world are printed in English, but it is not to England that one turns for the birthplace of the newspaper press. The old world knew nothing of linotype machines and million circulations, but it had its own way of spreading the news, and the *Acta Diurna* gave a daily account of public events in Rome during the dictatorship of Julius Caesar.

The *Acta* was posted in the Forum, and copies sold, and it must have recorded the first paragraph of English news, when Julius Caesar landed at Dover 1990 years ago. There was some sort of "yellow journalism" even then, for the *Acta*, in embellishing the story of a murder trial, recorded that "a shower of baked bricks fell during the proceedings!" The news of the *Acta*, however, was usually simple enough, and free from extravagance. On April 4, in the year 585 after the building of Rome, the *Acta* contributed these records to the world's history. "It thundered, and an oak was struck in that part of Mount Palatine called Summa Velia early in the afternoon." "A fray happened in a tavern at the lower end of Banker Street, in which the keeper of the 'Hog in Armour' tavern was dangerously wounded." "Tertinius, the Aedile, fined the butchers for selling meat which had not been inspected by the overseers of the markets."

It was, on the whole, a faithful record in its day, but the *Acta* died with Julius Caesar, and did not live to earn the distinction of being the oldest newspaper in the world. That distinction belongs to China, where the *Peking Gazette* is printed today on silk, as it was printed a thousand years ago.

STATISTICS ON STATISTICS

Three million statistical returns were published last year in 2,000 statistical reviews throughout the world, according to figures issued in Washington.

In addition, another 3,000,000 returns have been published in books and annual reports. It is estimated that statistical observations are increasing at the rate of 100,000 a year.—*Prager Presse, Prague.*

WORLD REVIEW COMPETITION

Result of Competition No. 7

For this Competition we asked for opinions from our readers as to which innovations we might usefully copy from Germany, Italy or Russia. Most agreed on motor roads, labour camps and physical training from Germany, and care for the worker from Russia. Italy came a bad third. Mr. T. H. Worgan struck an unusual note by praising the Führer for showing Germany the real meaning of "free will." "Though foreigners be fearful and distrustful when the German leader says 'I will!' Aryans everywhere are ready to stake their last dollar that what he says will be will be. What more glorious certainty could they pin their faith to? It is not a case of 'we might learn something from Germany,' but rather 'we are born fools if we do not.'"

First Prize

We can learn :—

(1) From Germany—organised employment of those morally stagnating in idleness.

(2) From Russia—moral rebuilding of prisoners—*e.g.*, Moscow-Volga canal experiment.

(3) Levelling of classes (Russia, Germany).

(4) Facilities for working mothers (Russia).

(5) We are *only beginning* to think of physical well-being of the masses (Germany).

(6) Government interest in the arts (though no dictating).

Ethically, in a country of extremes of rich and poor, speaking two respective languages, we can improve much but—we *have* souls of our *own*. Who would forfeit such inheritance, part of us, but also hardly-earned?

(Mrs). B. Jowitt (B.Sc.).

Second Prize

Two things the Nazi regime can teach us, by showing us practical results. What are they? Firstly—Labour Camps; Secondly—Physical Training.

1. The system of control is foreign to our ideals, but the benefits derived by the otherwise unemployed campers are great. Would not our unemployed be given a different perspective, if the Government instituted a similar system?

2. Would not compulsory P.T. as practised in Germany lift our apathetic youth from the "C" to the "A" Class? We know the Government has suggested and adopted a so-called Physical Culture Campaign! But how meek and mild! It lacks the punch and zeal of that produced by the Führer. In aforementioned is the process whereby "weeds" become useful "plants." Is it necessary to have a "forcing house" to accomplish the transformation?

T. H. E.

THRIFTY ESKIMOS

Eskimos in Alaska have learned to make use of Uncle Sam's air mail service without paying for it in postage. Learning the schedules and stops of the mail planes they send each other messages written on various portions of the exterior of the fuselage, particularly the tail. Pilots and landing field employees often noticed both Eskimo men and women cluster around their planes after landing and examining the surface closely. Then the pilots found the hieroglyphics which they learned were messages friends and relatives sent to each other from town to town.—*Wall Street Journal, U.S.A.*

TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

TAKE WING !

by ALISON OUTHWAITE

THERE are so many occasions in this publicity-minded world on which people or organisations are praised with ulterior motives that it is a pleasure to find an object for one's genuine enthusiasm. Such an object is, for the writer, the German civil flying service, the Deutsche Lufthansa, whose praises can be sung with a loud and cheerful voice.

Civil flying has reached a pitch in Germany which we in England do not properly realise. All important cities in the country are linked, not only with Berlin but with each other, and with every capital of Europe, and many other foreign cities besides. The Lufthansa's time-table map reveals a complicated network of airlines, looking like the work of a particularly industrious and ambitious spider. A day spent at the immense airport of Berlin at Tempelhof, which incidentally, like all German airports, has been made a very attractive place to spend at least an afternoon, is an astonishing experience. From early morning until deep into the night, the air is full of the great monoplanes—often six or more over the aerodrome at once, and dozens on the ground. The atmosphere is that of a busy junction. Altogether 91 different airlines are flown by the Lufthansa, linking Germany with 22 countries. The number of passengers carried last year was 232,000.

Reliability—by which is meant percentage of scheduled flights carried out—is an important factor and one of which the Lufthansa, without indulging in any obnoxious comparisons, can be justly proud. Flying all through the winter, night and day, no less than 98 per cent. of all scheduled flights were carried out last year. Over and over again it has been the experience of travellers to hear at Croydon, or read in the newspapers after a foggy day: "All services cancelled, except the German." This is not chance, or foolhardiness, but simply due to the far-advanced skill of the Germans in the science of blind flying. Flying by instruments alone has for years been demanded of all the pilots, to whom sight of the earth has long ceased to be of any interest. It is a German invention, the Lorenz blind landing system, now installed in many other countries, which enables pilots to fly on an inclined course right down to the landing ground in the densest fog.

When one considers the number of days and nights when fog prevails over Europe, it will be realised what that figure of 98 per cent. represents in scientific equipment and skill in its use.

This independence of the earth for guidance also means that pilots are free to seek the altitude at which the air is calmest. Travellers in German planes will notice how they almost always fly at considerable heights, above the clouds, and how amazingly steady the Lufthansa's Ju52 machines are—very often steadier than a train. For those who *like* to be reminded by bumps and rockings that they are really flying this steadiness is almost a disadvantage.

So much for the Lufthansa—but what about flying itself? How is it that so few people, even among those to whom money is no obstacle, still keep to the crawling train and dawdling, uncomfortable boat? To take the practical advantages first: one can fly between breakfast and lunch from London to Berlin or Munich; or, a journey, which, in a German express, takes 4½ hours and costs 25s., takes only 1¼ hours by air and costs only 30s.

But there is in general far too much emphasis laid on the practical advantages of flying and far too little on its unmaterial side: perhaps because it would need a poet to capture its beauty in words. To describe the upward rush through grey fog on a winter's day into the dazzlingly lovely world above the clouds would tax the powers of even an advertisement copy-writer. And if there are tense moments, such as when the plane noses down, down, down through impenetrable gloom, down till the altimeter touches nought and still no sight to the earth beneath—surely they add a welcome spice to the journey?

WHERE ARE OUR MOTOR ROADS?

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

This month's visit to Germany of a large and representative British delegation, to inspect the new motor roads, forms part of a big national roads campaign now being organised in this country.

Contrary to popular belief, the demand for up-to-date motor roads comes not so much from sporting owners of private cars but from operators of commercial vehicles. Better roads are for them no luxury but a vital necessity. The lead in the present campaign for a new road policy has been taken by the British Road Federation, who represent every class of commercial road user. They base their demand for special motor roads on four main grounds—public safety, convenience, industry's need of cheaper transport, and finally, national defence.

Great Britain is a small and densely populated country, and is now in the unenviable position of possessing the most congested roads in the world. Private cars numbered 1,643,000 last year, and are now increasing at the rate of 170,000 a year. With the continuance of prosperity, a total of 2,500,000 cars must be expected by the end of the next five years. Commercial vehicles numbered 610,000 in 1936, and are increasing at the rate of 30,000 a year. The density of traffic on the roads is double what it was ten years ago.

In view of this tremendous growth, the British Road Federation rejects the present system of merely improving

existing roads. If the country is to benefit fully by the development of motor transport, special motor roads designed for fast motor traffic must be built. A minimum width of 300 feet of actual road space is required; traffic in each direction should, of course, be separated and full provision made for the segregation of different classes of traffic on different tracks. There should be cycle tracks, tracks for light motor traffic and tracks for heavy traffic.

A large proportion of road accidents could be avoided by the segregation of different classes of traffic, and the provision of new roads which ensured at all times a proper view of the road ahead. Congestion during fine summer weekends has become a public scandal. It results in loss of time and increased costs for road users, and also in fatigue and irritation, and is undoubtedly an important factor contributing to the bad accident record of certain notorious roads.

The provision of an adequate network of special motor roads would enable large reductions to be made in the cost of road transport. There is ample evidence to show that in most countries good roads precede motor traffic rather than follow it, and there is a real danger in this country that, unless drastic alterations are made in the road system, the development of the British motor industry will be checked by lack of roads.

There, briefly, is the Federation's case. These roads cannot be built for nothing. The great new motor road which the Lancashire authorities have approved in principle from Warrington north to the borders of Westmorland, will cost between five and six million pounds for a total length of 54 miles. To raise such huge sums for road building the Federation suggests a loan of two hundred million pounds, secured on the proceeds of motor taxation.

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INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

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WAR FROM ALL SIDES

VAIN GLORY. A MISCELLANY OF THE GREAT WAR, 1914-'18. Compiled and Edited by Guy Chapman, O.B.E., M.C. *Cassell.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by BRIGADIER-GENERAL F. P. CROZIER, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

As the author says in his introduction, this is not an anthology of literature, but " an attempt to display the War of 1914-'18 through the eyes of those who took an active part in it." This is important because we have heard in the past far too much opinion expressed about the War by those who did not take a very active part in it. A Staff Officer at G.H.Q. has no more right to express opinions about what went on in the front line, than has the reader of a morning paper to express opinions about the work of firemen, putting out dangerous fires, about which he can have no personal knowledge or experience.

Yet this book is an anthology, an anthology of fact, and that makes it more important.

The surprising thing about this book is that it has met with well-deserved approval from extremes which seldom meet.

Personally, to me, the book is a fascinating revelation of war details placed before me in grand sequence. Moreover, it is a book which can be taken up at odd moments and read with interest on every page.

I should like to see this book made compulsory reading in the senior forms of all schools, among all Members of Parliament of all nations, and by pacifists in particular, and when I say pacifists, I mean real pacifists, and not people who desire to end war by making more war.

If I were to particularise on any one gem among all these gems, I would recommend the reading of " The Decision," as a true embodiment representing the British Senior Commander at his very best, because the decision of General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien to fight at Le Cateau was one of the most typical examples of what the calm mind of a soldier should be amidst tempestuous surroundings.

What puzzles me is the measure of agreement among critics as to the futility of war as a means of settling disputes, and the divergence of opinion among the same people as to what should be placed at the command of the world as a substitute for the things which are condemned by mutual consent.

The concluding lines on the last page :

Oh mercy give us grace to live,
Oh God send wisdom soon

(Ll. Wyn Griffith)

is all very well, as an expression of pious

hope, but the world wants more than that. War abolition, a refusal to take part, a refusal to be bamboozled, a substitution of something worth while instead, must be our aim.

"Stick to it, matey! Stick!" words told to Beverley Nichols by Robert Meynell, when the latter was in a guardroom awaiting trial as a Conscientious Objector—are the most appropriate thoughts of mankind at this time—thoughts expressed openly, during the War by fighting men, to a Conscientious Objector (Robert Meynell), when told by him that he could not fight because of his religion. It may not be in the order of things for the multitude to refrain from doing the wrong thing on account of their religion, but this at least we might expect, that they do the right thing because of their commonsense.

VIEWS ON GERMANY

GERMANY. THE LAST FOUR YEARS. By "Germanicus." *Eyre & Spottiswoode.* 5*s.*

OLIVER CROMWELL. By Ernest Barker. *Cambridge University Press.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by H. Powys Greenwood.

Germany, The Last Four Years, is in the main a reprint of the famous February, 1937, number of *The Banker,* whose colossal estimate of German rearmament expenditure and scathing criticism of the results of National Socialism caused widespread sensation at the time. From a remarkable analysis of German official figures it concludes that Germany has spent some 30 milliards of marks (or £2,500 million at the official rate) on armaments, strategic roads, etc., during the last four years. This colossal effort has undermined the whole economic structure of the country, insulating it from reviving prosperity and rendering necessary a bastard Socialism of economic control combined with a rapidly falling standard of living. But Germany is still only capable of facing a brief war against a limited number of enemies and the Reichswehr generals know it. Both they and the Nazis want to use their armaments for international blackmail—*i.e.,* to secure treaty revision, colonies and hegemony in Central Europe. We should refuse to be blackmailed, "Germanicus" maintains.

I wish I had more space to deal with Professor Barker's little reprint of a lecture on Cromwell delivered in Germany and his subsequent notes on the historical parallel between Cromwell and Hitler. The parallel, he says, is largely false. But "it is true that there is a sense in which Germany . . . is going through a stage of development through which we went some centuries ago. It is the stage of unification; of the acquisition of national homogeneity; of the attainment of a sure and tranquil basis of national life, on which men are agreed, and in the strength of which they can quietly pass on their ways upon their lawful occasions."

THE KINGDOM OF REASON

DENMARK. By Agnes Rothery. *Faber & Faber.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by Oliver Warner.

This is a charming book. Those of us lucky enough to have travelled in Denmark know precisely the feeling which Miss Rothery describes as coming over even the crudest tourists when they enter the Tivoli, those pleasure-gardens in Copenhagen where an atmosphere of dream and reality blend as they seem to nowhere else in the world so well. "Instead of being submerged by the pressure and racket of vulgarity,"

she writes, " one is wafted into a realm of innocence, and steps into a naive vista like a pink-sashed little girl or a blue-bowed little boy walking through a lace-paper frame into the heart of a valentine."

That (though with proper adaption to reality), approaches what many sane people feel about the whole of this ancient little kingdom, which has for so long set its greater European neighbours an example in civilisation. To go to Scandinavia is, indeed, an education in how to live, and a liberal one.

Miss Rothery has covered in this book not only Copenhagen, but every salient aspect of Danish life. Her sympathy, and her descriptive power, which she never strains, make her an admirable guide. If one has a grouse it is, first, that Denmark would be more delightful still if only its summer were longer, and, secondly, that Miss Rothery's text deserves clearer illustrations, though her plates are certainly abundant. She has written an interpretation which will be of real help to the Northern traveller.

THEY KNEW NO BETTER

LODGERS IN SWEDEN. By Romilly and Katherine John. *Faber.* Illustrated. 12s. 6d.

Reviewed by MARIAN POLLAK.

OUGHT one to be kind about a work like this, finding its freshness and *naiveté* charming instead of irritating? Yet, surely even charming young people could have set themselves a higher standard than this for their book? Mr. and Mrs. John—youthful, apparently, and with no specialised interests—went to Sweden for a six-months' holiday knowing nothing whatever about it beforehand. They lived cheaply, not seeing or doing much ; they appear indeed to have had very little occupation. They struggled with the language, met a few people and gathered miscellaneous information from their landladies. Sweden is not, however, so completely unknown to the Western world as they seem to think, and the impressions they have collected in this way, in the spirit of newcomers among unvisited South Sea Islanders, are not of much value to the more informed reader. While there they did not care much for asking questions, and neither then nor since do they appear to have in any way " read up " their subject. They confess with a disarming frankness to an almost complete ignorance of Swedish history, geography, politics and social institutions ; and though they went about with open eyes and were, up to a point, curious about what they saw, they have been unable to tell the typical from the accidental in the small experiences that came their way. Readers to whom this light-hearted approach is not unattractive will find the book pleasant. The sections describing a stay in the early spring in forest country on the borders of Värmland and some summer weeks spent in a fishing village on the West Coast are the best, and give some idea of Swedish landscape.

FANTASTIC CONFLICT

THE WAR IN SPAIN. By Ramon Sender. *Faber & Faber.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Translated by Sir P. Chalmers Mitchell.

Reviewed by G. L. STEER.

SOMETHING has gone wrong with this book of Sender's experiences with the militia in the Civil War. All the ingredients are there : the thrilling story, beginning with the first weaponless fighting in the Sierra de Guadarrama, ending with the defence of Madrid ; one of the best writers in Spain ; the cord of unity to the whole found in Sender's political feeling for the people ;

a sympathetic translator. But not a satisfactory book.

Particularly where the author is describing action—the bombardment of his artillery post at Peguerinos, an attack upon Bargas that failed—he adds something to our knowledge of the war and liking of literature. For this is the first officer's book to come out of the war, and it is written by a writer. But it is often marred by rhetorical passages, flat dialogue, exposures of eccentricity in the author's own outlook and treatment of his enemies which may amuse the Spanish reader but do not echo beyond the Peninsula. One has a feeling that Sender is trying to be subtle with the simplest elements : that he is writing himself down to politics. This criticism, however, does not mean that *The War in Spain* is not worth reading. The Spanish Civil War has many peculiarities among armed conflicts : a simple humanism among the soldiers, an extraordinary inefficiency combined with idealism in command : the impression generally that here are far too few fighting men, all ill fed, far too keen or far too apathetic by turns, ranging over one of the loveliest sets for war that the naturalist war writer could desire : a set far too high for them. In inverting the Spanish scene, which he paints so well, with this atmosphere of muddled fantasy, Sender has been honest and he has succeeded. His heroics should not be lightly dismissed. They represent something in Spain, which does not mean that they are often acted upon.

SHORTER NOTICES

"VOLUNTEER IN SPAIN." By John Sommerfield. *Lawrence & Wishart.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

If Mr. Sommerfield were not a Communist and his war were one which had the blessing of priests and politicians, *Volunteer in Spain* would be in its umpteenth edition. The proportions of idealism, humour and horror that you find in it are so absolutely true.

The book should be widely read, if only to make the comfortable middle-class Englishman realise that Communism has now exactly the same hold over many of his young and educated compatriots as " Patriotism " had over other young men who went off to defend liberty, justice, decency and so on in Belgium twenty-two years ago.

Mr. Sommerfield served in the International Brigade in Spain, and his short sketches show how a comradeship and common belief, transcending all barriers of language, has kept together one of the most amazing armies in history.

V. B.

ORDEAL IN ENGLAND. By Sir Philip Gibbs. *Heinemann.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

A book to be recommended to puzzled foreigners anxious to understand the Englishman of today. Sir Philip Gibbs is a superb reporter, who deftly picks the essential and revealing points out of any conversation or event, and displays them trimmed of irrelevancies. Going everywhere, knowing all and sundry, and possessed himself of an open, liberal mind, Sir Philip Gibbs is the ideal interpreter of England.

The abdication crisis, the attitude towards war, communism, and Germany are among the subjects on which England speaks in this book. The writer's own friendly personality, though not obtruding, pervades the whole of it.

JUST TOO GOOD OF US

Up to last night only Great Britain and Poland had handed in their replies to the British *questionnaire* on non-intervention.—*Times.*

DIARY OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

GREAT BRITAIN

July 18. Naval agreements between Great Britain and Germany, and between Great Britain and Russia signed in London. The agreements are for limitation of navies, and extend the provisions of the Naval Treaty of 1936 to Germany and Russia. Japan is not a party of this Treaty, and Russia on this account reserves greater freedom from Treaty obligations in respect of her Far Eastern fleet.

,, 20. Debate in House of Lords on Palestine begun (*see* p. 15).

,, 22. Mineworkers Federation vote to maintain the ban on Communists.

August 1. Mr. Neville Chamberlain sent personal letter of goodwill to Mussolini, expressing hope that misunderstandings may be removed.

,, 7. Three Nazi journalists ordered to leave England. Reason not officially divulged, but no connection with journalistic work.

GERMANY

July 19. Commercial agreement with General Franco concluded.

,, 25. General Goering, head of the Four-Year-Plan for self-sufficiency, announced formation of a State company which will take over the development of iron ore deposits neglected by private enterprise.

,, 27. Use of grain for fodder forbidden. Supplies requisitioned.

August 10. As reprisal for expulsion of Nazi journalists from London German Government asked *The Times* to recall its Berlin correspondent, Mr. Norman Ebbutt, as he would otherwise be compelled to leave. Accusation against Mr. Ebbutt was of constantly sending anti-Nazi reports.

,, 11. Foreign Press Association in Berlin protested against threatened expulsion of Mr. Ebbutt. German Press now accuse him and others of subversive activities, after it had been pointed out that the Germans were not being expelled for anything connected with journalistic work.

ITALY

August 3. Count Ciano, Foreign Minister, in interview declared that way was now clear for examination of ways and means for restoring good relations between Italy and Britain.

August 6. Italian newspaper correspondents to return to London, and English papers permitted again into Italy. Press adopted optimistic tone on prospects of improved relations.

SPAIN

July 16. All parties to Non-Intervention agreed on British plan as a basis for discussion.

,, 25. In an effort to break deadlock, *questionnaire* on their attitude to the British plan, sent by Britain to the 26 States on the Non-Intervention Committee.

,, 30. Committee debated replies to *questionnaire*, which revealed wide divergence between Germany-Italy, and Russia on the question of withdrawal of volunteers and granting belligerent rights. Russia demanded complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, including Moors, before discussion of belligerent rights.

August 3. M. Delbos, French Foreign Minister, reported to have appealed to Russian Ambassador to induce his government to be more conciliatory in their attitude towards British plan.

,, 8. Britain sent protest to General Franco about air attack on the *British Corporal*. French and Greek and Italian ships reported attacked by rebel aircraft.

,, 13. France stated that she cannot receive any more Spanish refugees than 50,000, and already has nearly 46,000.

BELGIUM

July 23. King Leopold in letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. van Zeeland, proposed establishment of an international economic institute to solve the problems menacing humanity.

IRISH FREE STATE

July 20. De Valera re-elected president.

,, 28. Bomb outrages by Republicans as protest against the King's visit to Northern Ireland.

PALESTINE

July 25. Arab Higher Committee published statement of its objections to the British partition scheme.

,, 30. Mr. Ormsby-Gore presented the case for the British scheme before the Mandates Commission of the League at Geneva.

PALESTINE (*continued*)

August 2. Mandates Commission cross-questioned Mr. Ormsby-Gore.

,, 3. Zionist Congress opened in Zurich under presidency of Dr. Weizmann.

,, 4. Government of Iraq protested to League on British partition scheme, and demanded establishment of an independent Arab State.

,, 7. Criticism of British handling of Palestine disturbances expressed by Mandates Commission.

,, 11. Zionist Congress rejected partition as proposed, but authorised further negotiations with Britain on new Jewish State.

IRAQ

August 16. Cabinet resigned.

INDIA

August 4. Lord Linlithgow and Mahatma Gandhi met for the first time. Good results hoped for from friendly conversation.

CHINA

July 15. Troops sent from Japan to North China following the Liukouchiao incident.

July 19. General Chiang Kai-shek, Chinese Prime Minister and Generalissimo, declared that Japan's demands went beyond the limit of endurance.

,, 23. Tokyo announced agreement with North China authorities, made without reference to Nanking Government.

,, 27 *and* 28. Fighting in Peiping after Japanese ultimatum demanding withdrawal of Chinese troops.

,, 29. Tientsin bombed. Mr. Hirota, Foreign Minister, declared in Tokyo that other countries would be unwilling to intervene, and anyway intervention would be rejected by Japan.

August 6. Japanese Diet unanimously urged the government to reject all peace proposals "insulting" to Japan.

,, 11. Twenty Japanese warships off Shanghai. Japan demanded withdrawal of Chinese defence forces to at least 30 miles from the city.

,, 12. Japanese demands rejected. Shanghai bombarded.

,, 14. Heavy casualties in Shanghai when bombs were dropped by Chinese on International Settlement.

,, 16. English women and children evacuated from Shanghai by warships.

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